ERRATA in the following Pages.

Page 18—Inſtead of Cottons might have been ſent *to* this Country, read, *from* this Country.

P. 36—Inſtead of, it would have been idle in *her* to have aſked in *us*, and us to have granted, read, and in *us* to have granted, &c.

P. 45—Inſtead of, French Woollens, till lately laid under prohibitory duties, read, *were* till lately, &c.

P. 80—Inſtead of, ſhe has beſides many of Dying Drugs, read, many Dying Drugs.

P. 89—Inſtead of, to have ſatisfied the moſt ſyſtematic parliament, read, the moſt ſyſtematic cruelty.

P. 148—Inſtead of the —— Article contains, &c. read, the 20th Article contains, &c.

P. 73—From the ſame iron in the 8th line, add, for the French market.

P. 92—Inſtead of 25 per cent. read, 24.

P. 96—Makes a difference in price to markets, dele to markets.

P. 130—For ſmugglers, read, ſmuggler.

P. 124—For 5s. read, 5d.

BRITISH MUSEUM

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A VIEW OF THE TREATY OF COMMERCE WITH FRANCE:

Signed at VERSAILLES, September 20, 1786,

BY

MR. EDEN.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

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January 25th, 1787.

BRITISH MUSEUM

INTRODUCTION.

THE treaty of commerce negociated by Mr. Eden, has furniſhed matter for a diſplay of no ſlight portion, perhaps on both ſides of the queſtion, of that bitter ſpirit of recrimination and retort for evil motives, which is too much the cuſtom of thoſe who are in common habits of oppoſing each other. Sharp invectives upon any ſerious diſcuſſion never fail to provoke the reprobation of cool

men; but to leſſen the importance of one of the greateſt objects that ever challenged the notice of the nation, by this ſort of ill-manners and intemperance, is a conduct indecent in a high degree and abſolutely criminal.—It is betraying a conſciouſneſs that all is not right, if the ſupporters of this treaty ſhew a ſoreneſs and impatience upon a tranquil and cool inveſtigation of its merits; whilſt, on the other hand, nothing but contempt can reſult from the efforts of its opponents, ſhould they, inſtead of proving the defects of the meaſure itſelf, manifeſt nothing but a ſenſe of rancour and reſentment againſt the perſons who have accompliſhed it. Subordinates, however, go much farther in political warfare than ſuperiors; and nothing is more unjuſt and illiberal

illiberal, than charging, upon the leaders or principal people of either ſide, any great ſhare of the violence, the lies and ribbaldry, which, though ecchoed every day, produce in the public mind no other ſentiments than thoſe of diſguſt or abhorrence.

In each of the parties that divide the nation, (without conſidering which ſide boaſts the ſuperiority of virtue, ability, or reputation) there are undoubtedly men of ſufficient integrity, talents, and character, to warrant this belief—that the miniſtry did not conſtitute this treaty for the purpoſe of deliberately deſtroying this empire, even though it ſhould be proved capable of ſuch an effect; and that the oppoſition, in mere enmity to their adverſaries, will not

be ſo baſe as to prevent the nation from enjoying the bleſſings it brings, if in reality it ſhould be found wiſe and ſalutary. This admiſſion (which, however, no way ſuperſedes a poſſibility of corruption in any individual) evidently ſuppoſes the ſubject diveſted from, as indeed it is, and much tranſcending all party conſiderations.

Other queſtions may with ſafety be turned into trials of ſtrength; but the ſource, the eſſence of our national conſequence never can be prophaned to ſuch little ends; for ſurely, the ruin of our trade, which would involve the ruin of all the parties in the country, would be agreeable to none of them.

In making plauſible profeſſions, there is ſo much facility, and a few ſound-

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ing words can be ſet down with ſo much eaſe; that the writer can hardly venture to ſay a ſyllable of himſelf. Patriotiſm and love of country are indeed capable of being urged without any difficulty; yet, ſurely, ſuch declamations, whether true or falſe, diſcover nothing but either the writer's weakneſs, or a deſign upon the reader's underſtanding, which he ſuppoſes liable to impoſition by any ſuch ſhallow pretence. Entertaining, therefore, a reaſonable degree of reſpect for the common ſenſe of men, the writer of this pamphlet refers for his motives in this little work, to the contents of the work itſelf, and not to any ſpecious profeſſions on his own part; following however, that reference with this declaration—that if, in any inſtance in the courſe of the in-

inveſtigation, ſiniſter views or party objects are found to predominate, in preference to national intereſt and the public good—if any fact or argument that makes againſt his ſyſtem, be willingly ſuppreſſed or evaded ;—or any that favour it, be exaggerated, or ſtretched beyond their due bearing ; the writer forfeits, if convicted of theſe faults, all credit with his readers for the merit of every other part of the publication.

That every thing here ſhall be original or very agreeable, is not at all affected, and ſhould not in reaſon be looked for. A ſubject which falls not within the ſphere of ordinary acquirement ; to the due knowledge of which, a warehouſe is more uſeful than a library, and a clothier a better authority than a claſſic,

ſic: affords no opportunity for either the invention of genius, or the embelliſhments of art. Public curioſity however, ſhould not be deterred or deadened by this conſideration. In the whole realm, there is not one perſon of any age or ſex whom this treaty does not deeply concern, and ſhould not ſenſibly intereſt. Our national wealth, our weight in the ſcale of empires, the employment of our people, the product of our lands, and every thing we have either of comfort or of glory, are blended with our trade, and inſeparable from it. Nor ſhould any perſon be indifferent to it, by the fear of its being either too intricate or abſtruſe. The obſcurities of this, like many meaner and many nobler ſciences, conſiſts more in the barbarous jargon, the technical

nical ambiguity, and pitiful craft of its profeſſors, than any abſolute myſtery in the ſcience itſelf. Ornament indeed, and decoration, are upon ſuch an occaſion, utterly impoſſible; but the ſubject is not therefore dark or myſtical: and to this the writer pledges himſelf—that though he cannot entertain, he ſhall make himſelf underſtood.

VIEW

VIEW

OF THE

TREATY.

Natural Difficulty of an Advantageous Trade with France.

WAVING the abſtract queſtion,—whether there are not nations ſo placed on the globe, and ſo conſtituted by nature, as to defie the force of human ſkill in forming a commercial connection of reciprocal benefit between them; let us ſee at once if between France and England ſuch a connection is poſſible or practicable. France has for a ſtaple, the manufactures of wine, brandy, vinegar, oil, &c.; theſe are bleſſings peculiar to her, which all the labour of all the men in England can never obtain or eſtabliſh here: for the ſame providence that beſtowed them upon the one, denied them to the other nation. The ſyſtem of luxury in

Great Britain renders theſe articles an object of extraordinary magnitude to the commerce of France, and they form a phyſical ſuperiority to the prejudice of England; unleſs it appears that England poſſeſſes ſome local advantage to tally againſt it, by ſome great manufactures as peculiar to herſelf and inacceſſible to France, as the French ſtaple is confeſſedly ſo to Great Britain. The queſtion then is—Has Great Britain ſuch an advantage?

The fact is ſo much otherwiſe, that in every article we cultivate, in every manufacture and every commodity worth mentioning, France is our rival and conſtant competitor, poſſeſſing within herſelf the natural means of equality in all, and of poſitive ſuperiority in moſt branches. Not ſo truly in politics as in trade, is France the natural enemy of Great Britain. The Eaſt, the Weſt Indies, the South, the North of Europe, Africa, Aſia, all the known parts of the earth bear daily witneſs to their commercial emulation.

So ſtands the fact upon the face of the two countries; now let us ſee how far the practice

bears

bears out the theory which ariſes from a view of two nations ſo naturally conſtituted. It is a maxim among commercial men that trade will of its own natural operation find its own proper channel and ſphere of exerciſe. This maxim but little ſupports the preſent treaty: for every experiment, after the trial of ages, gives deciſive teſtimony againſt the practicability of a trading intercourſe, to their mutual advantage, between France and England.

Here it is neceſſary for me to aſſume, that the diſcuſſion which Mr. Eden's treaty has of neceſſity occaſioned, muſt have made the public converſant with many material facts, which, to avoid details, will be only requiſite in this place merely to mention.

—How it came ſo, or what led to it, ſhall not be enquired now; it is enough for the preſent purpoſe to ſtate, that Charles II. opened the trade with France—that during its exiſtence this kingdom loſt to the French, above a million annual upon balance—that the parliament in the year 1678, prohibited that trade, and voted it a nuiſance—that the prohibition was taken off in the firſt year of

James II.—that the commerce was open until the revolution, when the trade was again prohibited upon proof of its deſtruction to the kingdom—that its pernicious effects were not confined to the ſingle evil of paying a million a year upon balance to France herſelf; but that our whole trade to all the other parts of the world was infected and deſtroyed by it. The vaſt importations of French goods neceſſarily diminiſhed the imports from the other countries of Europe; and this by the natural courſe of things decreaſed the conſumption of our commodities in thoſe countries.

It is proved upon the beſt authority * that all our woollen exports, making the years 1662 and 1668, the medium of annual export during the exiſtence of the French trade, did not amount to a million per annum, though at that time we ſurpaſſed all the world in that manufacture; and, that

* Dr. Davenant, the inſpector general, ſtates that our exports to all parts of the world were: In 1662, 2,022,812 l. 4s. In 1668, 2,063,274 l. 19s. when the French trade was open upon moderate duties—And that our exports to all parts of the world were in 1699, when the high duties were revived, 6,788,166 l. 17s. 6d. In 1703, in the midſt of war with France, 6,644,103 l.

in

in the very firſt year after the trade with France was prohibited, namely the firſt year after the revolution; our exports in woollen goods *alone* was 2,932,272 l. 17s. 6d. This is a deciſive and memorable fact; but memorable facts do not ſtop here. For the ſame unqueſtionable authority aſſures us, that during the continuance of this fatal intercourſe with France, our annual loſs upon the general balance of our trade with all the world, taking two years of *greateſt export* as the medium, exceeded two millions per annum: *and that* our general exports were THREE TIMES LARGER to all parts of the earth when the *French trade was prohibited*, than when we had acceſs to the French market under the moſt favourable duties! THREE TIMES larger, and even including a year of war, namely 1703, in the medium of comparative exports! Holland alone paid us 1,400,000 l. a year when the French trade was prohibited; while it exiſted, nothing: and to ſum up the fatality of the commerce with France, it has been proved to demonſtration, that from its firſt exiſtence to its final extinction, not one year could ſhew the ſmalleſt balance of

that

that trade in favor of this country; but on the contrary: that every year confirmed an immoderate and exorbitant loſs to Great Britain in favor of France, independent of its deſtructive influence upon every other branch of our commerce.

Upon the whole, if the maxim be true, that trade will find its own proper channel, the market of France does not appear from theſe facts to be the proper channel for the trade of Great Britain.

If one nation excel another in any branch of knowledge which it is dangerous for the one to impart to the other, there can be no equality between them, unleſs there exiſt a capacity of deriving ſome uſeful information in return, to balance, and make reciprocal, this communication of ſkill. No ſuch capacity exiſts between France and England. To France, her ſtaple manufacture is peculiar; and all the art of all her people in that branch can never be of the ſmalleſt benefit to this country. This country poſſeſſes no manufacture peculiar to herſelf; and there is not a glimpſe of improvement, or trace of information in any branch whatever, that France acquires,

which

which can fail being detrimental to this, and ſerviceable to that country. If this conſideration does not demonſtrate the impoſſibility of opening a trade to their mutual advantage between the two countries; it at leaſt, combined with the experience of paſt times, greatly aggravates the difficulty of ſuch an attempt. Whence then can ſpring our hope of maintaining a beneficial trade with France?

From this—that we have an infinite ſuperiority upon the balance of manufactures—that we are ſure of always preſerving that ſuperiority—and that we ſhall ſend to France, ſo vaſt a quantity of goods, as to be certain of receiving a balance in money upon the total.

How far this confidence is well founded, will appear by and by.

Tranſition of Excellence in Manufactures.

TO the generality of mankind the ordinary powers of the mind are dealt out in very equal portions; education and culture forming the chief difference between men and nations. Beings of ſupereminent faculty ſpring up ſometimes, it is true; but theſe do not claſs with the common herd of their ſpecies, and make nothing againſt this main poſition—that in the general rate of intellect, no great diſparity exiſts among the kingdoms of Europe. Many perſons may fancy, in the arrogance of accidental perfection, in the plenitude of pride and ſelf-love, that the excellence which is undoubtedly theirs at the preſent moment, muſt always continue ſo, although no natural incapacity exiſts of its attainment by others: but reaſon and reflection aſſure us there can be no warrant for the duration of any ſuperiority which is not arbitrary and inacceſſible. Arts of every ſort have been tranſplanted from clime to clime. The nobleſt theatres

for

for civility and ſcience in our day, have been diſtinguiſhed a few years back, by ignorance and barbariſm; whilſt other regions, once renowned for tranſcending the world in all that men deem great and famous, exhibit nothing now but ſcenes of deſolation, or are ſunk into mere ſepulchres of their former glory. The moſt vulgar and the moſt refined objects alike bear teſtimony to the truth of this remark; which applies not more to commerce and manufactures, than to every other excellence that reſults from the ſkill of man *alone*.

Great Britain ſo celebrated for her woollen commodities, once ſold every fleece ſhe grew to the ſubjects of the Duke of Burgundy, and was ſupplied with that uſeful manufacture by a few towns in Flanders; the dreary and impoveriſhed condition of which at this moment, ſhews, emphatically, how precarious is every thing that depends upon the mere dexterity of man: and where the miſerable manufactures of a little lace and linen are all the traces of induſtry, that are found in territories that not long ſince were the mart of the commerce of Chriſtendom. Wiſe men, even in thoſe days, fore-

ſaw the danger of imparting the knowledge of the woollen manufacture to thoſe nations ſurrounding them, who poſſeſſed the raw material in abundance and perfection: and great were the labours of ſome of the Flemmings to conceal the art—but their labour was vain. Venice formed a manufacture of fine cloth, and for a long time ſupplied all Italy and the Levant—She in her turn was forced to yield before the active genius of England, who ſoon bore all before her in that branch of buſineſs. The Levant, the Italian, the Mediterranean markets were furniſhed from our woollens. We ſupplied Spain, we ſupplied even France, and for a conſiderable time almoſt monopolized that entire trade. But our triumph was merely mortal.—Lewis XIV. ſaw with grief our ſuperiority in ſo great an article. He ſet his people to work—he formed ſheep-folds—he encouraged manufacturers from this and other countries. He ſet up Robay in Picardy—and Varranes in Languedock. He eſtabliſhed a Levant company—he conferred on them extraordinary immunities, he gave them premiums, he made them loans, and afterwards forgave the debts. This great

prince

prince enjoyed the glory of living to ſee his woollen manufactories not only ſupply his own ſubjects: but in foreign markets to rival England, to underſell us in cloth and perpetts in Turkey, and to drive our baize out of Spain to make room for the ſtuffs of France. All *this* progreſs was made in a *few years* of this monarch's reign; but the manufacture ſoon after expanded to the other provinces, and now flouriſhes in every part of that vaſt kingdom. Woollen manufactures were ſet up in Salonica with great ſucceſs for the ruin of our Turkey trade. Some were eſtabliſhed in Sileſia, others in Poland, and we had the mortification to ſee above 2000 of our own woollen manufacturers emigrate and plant themſelves in the Palatinate. Still however our ſkill in execution, and the prodigious encreaſe of the home market have preſerved that greateſt of all our branches from ruin; but it certainly has not that unrivalled ſuperiority it once boaſted.

Silk and paper are brought to great perfection in this country; yet not a ſingle ſheet fit to write or print upon was made here about 100 years ſince, and ſcarcely one ſilk loom was there at work. Our linen manu-

facture (ſpeaking of the Iriſh as our own) is very proſperous: within a century, however it is a fact, that we paid to foreigners two million a year for linen alone. We paid 500,000 l. for ſilk, and 100,000l. for paper—2,600,000l. paid now to the product of our own lands, and the labour of our own people which went into the coffers of foreign nations, from our abſolute ignorance in manufactures that are now ſo compleat and admirable among us. Tape, an article of great conſumption in this country, has been, until within a few years, ſupplied to us by Holland; we now entirely ſupply ourſelves, and export great quantities. Copper-plate paper has been brought to ſuch perfection by a Britiſh manufacturer * in the courſe of *the laſt year*, as almoſt to equal even that of the French, who have hitherto ſolely furniſhed us with that article—The greater part of Europe at one time bought ſalt fiſh from England alone, and we engroſſed in particular the French market. The French obtained leave in the laſt century to ſhare our fiſheries from the fatal kindneſs of one of our princes; in a ſhort time there were 400 ſail of French ſhips upon the bank of Newfoundland, and

* Mr. Lepard of Newgate-ſtreet.

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independant of its ſignal ſuccour to the French marine, their fiſh trade now maintains a moſt formidable emulation with our own, and yields them a million per annum. In a word, the inſtances that prove the tranſition of manufacturing excellence, would be endleſs to recite; and in the face of ſuch a maſs of events as hiſtory records to this point, no reaſonable man *can* feel aſſured of preſerving any ſuperiority in any branch, which ſuperiority reſults alone from mere induſtry, and where there exiſts no phyſical or local incapacity for its acquirement by other people.

So many intereſts are involved in the treaty negociated by Mr. Eden, that its merits never can fairly be decided by the judgements of any particular ſet of manufacturers; and the greateſt caution, if not the utmoſt ſuſpicion, is obviouſly neceſſary in guarding againſt the opinions of any men who are likely to be intereſted in its eſtabliſhment. A lucky hit has in an inſtant made the fortunes of thouſands. One ſeaſon, one venture, nay a ſingle voyage, has often carried bodies of men to the zenith of proſperity. The very moment of the convulſion of trade has furniſhed the golden opportunity of unbounded wealth for

ſeveral

ſeveral people; and manufacturers, as well as merchants, have ſometimes aggrandized themſelves and their families, by a commerce, which at the ſame time impoveriſhed and deſtroyed their country.

Againſt this therefore, the moſt catching influence to which the human mind is liable, we muſt be upon our guard. The conſent of men has been often obtained for the moſt deſperate ſchemes, in hope of their deriving ſome ſeparate benefit in the common wreck; and as we know that the public welfare is ſeldom, in the eye of buſineſs, preferred to private emolument—too much doubt and diffidence cannot exiſt upon ſuch a ſubject!—a caſe in point occurs to me.

It was made a condition of the annexation of Brittany to the monarchy of France, that the province of Brittany ſhould be exempt from duties. While the trade was open between France and England, the inhabitants of Lyme Regis in Dorſetſhire, availing themſelves of the freedom from duties in Brittany, had been in habits of carrying on a profitable trade with that province in a particular ſort of woollens in which that town happened to excel. That the trade with France had been

always

always and uniformly deſtructive to this nation is true beyond all diſpute; and if ever fact was clear in ſpeculation, it is, that the treaty of Utrecht would have ruined us. Yet during the diſcuſſion of that treaty, and in the teeth of all paſt experience, the people of Lyme Regis made no ſcruple to petition in favor of "a trade with France!" which they aſſerted "was an *enriching trade*, uſeful for the employment of the people, *ſhipping* and *navigation*."—The exports of woollen from Lyme Regis (although in truth they were one third of all the woollen exports to France in the year of greateſt export from the whole kingdom) were capable of being carried in one ſhip, and in one voyage; ſtill however the good people of that town, becauſe they happened to be among the few exceptions to the fatality of the French trade; had nerves enough to affirm that it wasan *enriching* trade, and what is more ridiculous if poſſible, that it promoted *ſhipping* and *navigation*.

To obviate calumny upon a very delicate point, let me be permitted in this place to declare; that, in my judgment, there do not live in this or in any other country, a more meritorious, a more uſeful, or a more truly reſpec-

ſpectable body of men than the body of Britiſh manufacturers. Great however as their worth is, and conſummate as may be their ingenuity and ſkill, the hazard is evident of being governed in a buſineſs of this ſort by the opinions of thoſe among them, who have at preſent a certain and ſignal ſuperiority in any flouriſhing manufacture that is popular in France:—for they, in their reſpective avocations, may derive the greateſt advantage from this treaty, while every other branch in the kingdom may be ruined by it. Indeed in an exact proportion to the magnitude and extenſion of their probable benefits by it, would be their difficulty and diſability from giving a free unbiaſſed judgment upon its general merits.

We excel all the world in *pottery*, for inſtance. Mr. Wedgwood is a gentleman of extraordinary ability as a manufacturer, and acknowledged probity as a man: no flattery is meant to him in aſſerting that he is indeed a national bleſſing; but, let me in candor aſk, whether even Mr. Wedgwood would be exactly the beſt of all poſſible authorities upon the merits of a treaty, the immediate advantages from which to himſelf are clear, certain and undoubted? This branch ſtands

in

in a peculiar predicament. Other commodities find their way into France, by illicit conveyance; but againſt this there are ſingular difficulties, "the bulk and cheapneſs of "pottery, render the ſmugling of it impracticable; as a whole waggon load will not "amount to ſo much in value as a common "Jews box."

Theſe are the preciſe words of Mr. Wedgwood himſelf, delivered upon oath before the Houſe of Lords, on the 16th of June, 1785. His good ſenſe will ſee, that his evidence is not overſtretched, when only this ſimple deduction is drawn from it,—that as his branch has not the facilities for ſmuggling that other manufactures have, whoſe direct ſale may be encreaſed by this treaty, *he* is leſs qualified than any other, even of theſe dealers, from giving an uninfluenced opinion upon this ſubject—ſpeaking independently of his general character, and unqueſtionable integrity as a man.—Is it neceſſary to puſh this point any farther?

Let it be obſerved too, that this ſort of argument does not cut the other way; for infinitely more weight is due to thoſe whom

the treaty will deſtroy, than to thoſe it may ſerve. The benefit to be derived to the latter, can be in no proportion to the injuries of the former; for wide indeed is the difference between the *good* of *improving* the *ſale* of one great manufacture, and the *evil* of ruining another altogether. If the eſtabliſhment of the treaty ſhould be the utter extinction of many branches, its rejection cannot in any ſhape be injurious to any; becauſe the manufactures capable of being immediately promoted by it, are exactly the moſt flouriſhing we have in the kingdom: and its miſcarriage can render them no other injury, than leaving them in *ſtatu quo*,—in full poſſeſſion of their preſent unrivalled ſplendor and proſperity. ! !

Danger

Danger to the Manufactures in which we excel, &c. &c.

HAVING ſeen the tranſitions of manufacturing ſkill in general, let us now obſerve the particular ſtate of thoſe branches in which we poſitively poſſeſs an unmatched ſuperiority over the French. Theſe are the articles of cottons, hardware, pottery, gauze, ſadlery—great national objects indeed; yet great as they are, it is almoſt unneceſſary to ſay, that compared with all the other manufactures of the kingdom, they become trifling. If, however, in theſe branches we have any local peculiar advantage, and are certain the French can never reach or rival us in any of theſe commodities; ſuch a certainty, though it could not of itſelf juſtify the treaty, will leſſen ſome of the objections to it. Now, the fact is widely otherwiſe. Not only we have no ſuch local and peculiar advantage, but in every one of theſe branches, perfect as they are, the very power we are going to trade with, muſt, from the nature of things, ſpeedily, and infallibly ſurpaſs us.

Were the proof of this poſition to depend upon *me* alone, the principles of reaſon and the experience of paſt times may perhaps enable even the writer of theſe ſheets to demonſtrate—that we can have no ſurety for the duration of our ſuperiority in theſe few branches while the raw materials of every one of them, are as acceſſible to the French as to ourſelves, ſuperadded to a thouſand other evident and deciſive advantages:—but fortunately for the ſubject and for the public, this point is eſtabliſhed by a body of authority, that muſt ſilence and ſubdue the moſt inveterate doubts. I mean the opinion of the *Manufacturers* of GREAT BRITAIN themſelves, by their evidence to the parliament of England, during the progreſs of the Iriſh Propoſitions in the year 1785.

From ſuch authorities, there can be no appeal; firſt, becauſe they are the greateſt men in their reſpective profeſſions; ſecondly, becauſe the capacity they diſplayed in their examinations, and the accuracy of their teſtimony, muſt remove all queſtion of the fullneſs of their intelligence upon the various topics: and thirdly, becauſe that teſtimony was given *upon oath.*

To

To that maſs of detail, I would refer every reading man in this kingdom, upon the preſent occaſion. The evidence was printed by order of the houſe, and the publication of it at this time, would be a national ſervice. A recital of all that was ſworn by the intelligent men, deputed by the trading intereſt of Great Britain at that time, is obviouſly incompatible with the nature of this publication; but in a few words may be ſtated the ſum of it, and that is neceſſary.

—The ſum was this: that preſent ſuperiority was no future ſecurity—that cheapneſs of labour, cheapneſs of living, and lightneſs of taxes, muſt bear all before them, where the raw materials could be had on equal terms—that ſkill in manufacture was eaſily acquirable—that much of Britiſh pre-eminence reſulted from tools and machines, the knowledge of which was capable of being conveyed away—that the exciſe was the greateſt grievance upon manufactures in general;—that the nature of the Britiſh exciſe rendered a proper countervailing duty impracticable;—and that where theſe impediments did not obſtruct—thither the branches muſt emigrate upon the acceſſion of this knowledge.

Every thing that was ſworn by thoſe gentlemen

tlemen in regard to Ireland, applies, with additional force, reſpecting France; becauſe the * French pay not a great deal more in taxes, than even the little which is paid by the Iriſh; becauſe living and labour, cheap as they are in Ireland, are ſtill cheaper in France; becauſe, though the exciſe is but little known to the manufactures of Ireland, it is ſtill leſs known to thoſe of France; and, becauſe the French have natural capacities abundantly beyond the Iriſh, in many of theſe branches.

Our yielding up Tobago at the peace (a ceſſion certainly unneceſſary, the policy of which, however, ſhall not here be diſcuſſed) has thrown us upon the mercy of France, in a great degree, for the prodigious raw material, cotton, and a duty of twelve livres per quintal, is charged upon all cotton exported from thence. The fluctuation of the

* Eſtimating the population of Ireland at about three millions, and the revenue at fourteen hundred thouſand pounds, the Iriſh pay about nine ſhillings and four pence a piece. This makes not more than half what the French pay according to Mr. Necker; (chapter 10th firſt volume) but from the inequality of aſſeſſment in France, there are many of the generalities, (and among thoſe, the provinces beſt calculated for, and moſt abounding with manufactures) that do not actually contribute near ſo much *per caput*, in taxation as the Iriſh do.

article,

article, makes it difficult to aſcertain the percentage of this tax ; but this tax, together with the commiſſion, freight, and inſurance, is calculated to be *two pence* in every pound of French cotton, dearer to the Engliſh, than the French manufacturer.

There are other points worth conſidering ; beſide the public duty in France on all cotton which of courſe muſt be countervailed. By a grant from the crown, the Duke de Penthievre, I underſtand, receives one penny per pound upon all the St. Domingo cotton, whether conſumed in, or exported from France ; and, it is at leaſt a queſtion, whether the French will not under the ſanction of this impoſt to the Duke de Penthievre, lay an additional duty upon all our cotton manufactures. Such a manœuvre will aggravate our diſadvantage, as contraſted with France—but indeed who can tell how ſoon they may prohibit the export of it altogether.*

Theſe, however, joined to the natural capabilities of France, are ſignal objects

* Since the former edition of this pamphlet has been publiſhed, the French have laid a new duty upon cotton, which amounts to 3¼d. per pound, *additional.*

againſt

againſt us; and whoever compares them with the following extraordinary facts, can ſcarcely feel, without alarm, for this branch of our trade. Three of the greateſt, and moſt reſpectable men * in Mancheſter, have, upon oath, made the following alledgments,—"That three fourths of the value "of cotton manufactures is the effect of *labour*," and the difference in labour they ſhew by this fact. "That Ireland underſells Eng-"land in the Engliſh market, no leſs than "18, or 20 per cent, after paying freight and "inſurance, in a worked article, the raw "material of which coſts the Iriſh 75 per "cent. more than it coſts the Engliſh; that "common labourers may, in a very ſhort "time, become expert weavers." Mr. Walker, than whom a more able, a more enlightened, and more honorable man exiſts not, further affirmed, "that it was an in-"controvertible fact, that linen weavers "made the very beſt cotton weavers."

And yet, a ſpeculation has taken place in cottons—it has ſo—but a ſpeculation proves

* Mr. Thomas Walker, Mr. Peale, and Mr. Smith.—See their evidence before the Houſe of Lords, on the 20th and 21ſt of June, 1785.

nothing.

nothing. The ſcheme of the South Sea was a ſpeculation; the ſcheme of John Law was a ſpeculation; and the fatality of ſpeculations has not ended with thoſe monſtrous, though popular bubbles. The ſpeculation in cottons is in truth no other than an enterprize of ſome wealthy traders, to avail themſelves of the firſt hour of legal entry into France, to crowd an immenſe quantity of goods into that country, by the quick and profitable ſale of which they hope to ſet the future evils of this treaty at defiance; and leave the apprentices, the journeymen, and the growing race of people to ſhift for themſelves. Theſe very perſons who ſpeculate do not conſider their trade ſecure; for the nature of human concerns does not admit the thing poſſible—if the facts ſworn by theſe gentlemen are true. Let the reader revolve the facts.—Labour is of ſuch a nature, that one country can underſell another above 20 PER CENT. in an article, the raw material of which coſts the *former* 75 per cent. MORE than the *latter*—that THREE FOURTHS of the value of cotton goods conſiſts in *labour*; and that *linen weavers* make the very beſt *cotton weavers*—" *in-*

" *controvertibly.*" France abounds in linen weavers—labour there is cheaper than in Ireland—the raw material cheaper than in Ireland. Theſe points are notorious to all the world; and who that believes them can deny this deduction? *That France muſt ſpeedily outſtrip Great Britain in the cotton manufacture.*

Pottery ſtands in nearly the ſame predicament with cottons.—Superior as we are in that branch, the French muſt ſhortly ſurpaſs us; for Mr. Wedgwood* has proved, upon oath, that preſent excellence is no guaranty againſt future rivalſhip; " that the Iriſh can ſell this " commodity 40 or 50 per cent. leſs than " the Engliſh, *owing to the cheapneſs of proviſion, freedom from taxes*, and *conſequent cheapneſs of labour.*" Theſe are Mr. Wedgwood's own words, and he cloſes the ſubject, with declaring, " *that* 40 *or* 50 *per cent. would* " *ſcarcely be a protecting duty* againſt the " Iriſh;"—Let Mr. Wedgwood, or any man on earth give ſatisfaction to this plain queſ-

* See his evidence before the Houſe of Lords, on the 16th of June, 1785.

tion.

tion. After the French have a little time to learn an art which this great maſter of it has proved to be ſo eaſily acquired—is ten per cent. a protecting duty againſt France ; and not 50 *per cent.* againſt *Ireland?*

Iron. In mines and metals Great Britain has undoubted ſuperiority over France ; but in the article of iron, thoſe are certainly leſs than is commonly imagined. Our own produce is little more than half our conſumption —we make 30,000 tons annually—we import 55,000 tons. In navigation and all that relates to it, freight, inſurance, &c. the French have great advantages over us, and of courſe their foreign iron coſts them leſs than we pay. The duty here is 2l. 16s. 1d. upon every ton of foreign iron—the French duty is ſomething leſs then half. The waſte upon working hoops, rods, nails, anchors, &c. is eight ſhillings per ton ; the duty paid upon the *waſte* in making one ton of nails is no leſs than fourteen ſhillings per ton—fourteen ſhillings duty upon mere *waſte!* The reader will therefore proportion the advantage of France to the difference of duty in her favor, for not a penny is ever drawn back here upon exporting this ar-

ticle manufactured. Cheapneſs of labour, of living, and taxes, apply equally in favor of this branch as of all the reſt, * and perhaps they will be deemed more than a counterballance to the ſingle advantage which this country enjoys in having coals on eaſier terms. †

The importance of this branch of trade requires not being urged here. Its capital is ten millions ſterling—the value of the erections four millions. The import duty to the State is 155,000l. and it employs about 300,000 people, no women or children taken into the account. The queſtion then is, whether our preſent ſuperiority in workmanſhip is ſufficient to quiet all alarms upon this point? and that great queſtion ſhall be anſwered by the only authority perhaps competent to its magnitude, namely in the very words of ſeven of the firſt men in the buſineſs; ‡ delivered *upon oath* before the Houſe of Lords, in reply to a query touching this preciſe object—

* Evidence of the iron trade, June, 1785.

† London does not ſhare this advantage, for coals come much dearer to a London than to a French manufacturer.

‡ Alexander Raby, William Gibbons, Thomas Longridge, Francis Wall, William French, James Graſs, and Thomas Green.

In

" In many branches of the iron trade, *any* " *labourer* by *a week's practice* will become " *a workman*; and in ſome branches *three* or " *four years* will raiſe a ſet of hands from *the* " *natives of a country.*" Here is an anſwer from thoſe of the higheſt weight and greateſt knowledge in this line of buſineſs. It is an authority that muſt be deciſive with the reader, and needs not the ſuccour of any comment. Mine perhaps would only weaken its force, and I ſhall therefore leave it upon the public mind to operate according to its value.

In the few other branches whoſe ſale is likely to be immediately bettered by this treaty, our ſuperiority conſiſts in mere ſkill; and admitting all that is ſtated in promiſe of their ſucceſs, it makes but little in favor of the treaty. Gauze and ſadlery, (though every trade certainly ſhould be looked to) are not objects of comparative conſideration. A ſaddle laſts a good while, and the branch employs not many people; even in this our confidence is perhaps too ſanguine. Leather is heavily taxed in France, and when that tax is ſuperadded to the 15 per cent. the French market

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may be found leſs valuable to ſadlery than is generally ſuppoſed.

Now let it not be aſked whether the writer affects to know the intereſt of the manufacturers better than themſelves. I hope the reader will find no part of this publication deſerve the charge of ſuch raſh and ridiculous audacity. Certain principles there are indeed of reaſon which cannot be ſurrendered to any power however impoſing—for if a Britiſh manufacturer, having no ſuperiority but that of mere dexterity in workmanſhip, ſhould aſſert, that he would always maintain his ſuperiority over a Frenchman, acknowledging at the ſame moment the great advantages of cheap labour, cheap living and low taxes, in favor of the latter: in any article, the raw material of which the Frenchman could obtain upon equal if not better terms than himſelf, and in the execution of which he laboured under no natural incapacity—ſuch a man could not be credited; becauſe that would be to contravene the eternal principles of common ſenſe, the immutable dictates of human nature and human reaſon—but the manufacturers have hazarded no ſuch extravagant

travagant aſſertion, and between them and me there is no difference whatever.

Every ſyllable that is here urged, is urged from them. Animated by their example, encouraged by their authority, and fortified by their arguments; ſcarce a ſingle poſition and not one point of fact is ventured, upon this part of the ſubject, without the ſanction of their ſentiments. If any man doubts the tranſition of manufacturing ſkill, let him read the evidence of the Britiſh manufacturers. —Mr. Thomas Bayley and Mr. Robert Wyat, * in particular have proved, "that the "maſters are obliged in moſt inſtances to "communicate the knowledge and inven- "tions by which their reſpective arts and "manufactures are perfected to their work- "men; that theſe workmen may carry theſe "arts and manufactures into other coun- "tries—that all their arts and manufactures "are liable and capable with eaſe of being "conveyed abroad." They demonſtrate this by an alarming caſe; Four workmen in the

* See the evidence of theſe Gentlemen delivered on oath before the Houſe of Lords, June, 1785.

glaſs

glaſs trade had been ſeduced into France, the latter end of the year before, in the different branches of drop-cutters, lapidaries, ſcolloppers, and glaſs-blowers—" *And in the ſpace* " *of* A FEW MONTHS, the *French had* " *made a conſiderable progreſs in this manufacture* " at SEVE."

If any man diſputes the advantage of machines in manufacturing, let him read their evidence, and in particular Mr. Wedgwood's,* who proves " that one great ſource of our ability to baffle all competition in foreign markets againſt high priced labour, living, and taxes, is the number we have of machines, preſſes, dies, and tools. That theſe are eſſential to the well-being and even the exiſtence of our branches, and that we excel all the world in them. That when theſe are exported or copied in foreign countries, ultimate ruin muſt be the fate of our manufactures."

If any man doubts the facility of exporting theſe implements, the manufacturers will extinguiſh all doubts upon the ſubject—Mr.

* See his evidence, June 16th, 1785.

James

James Wytt and Mr. James Keir, eſpecially: who have ſworn, * " that the manufactures could be eſtabliſhed if the machines were forwarded.—That many of the machines are not too bulky to be exported in a perfect and compleat ſtate." And to a queſtion, whether the penal ſtatutes againſt the exportation of tools was not a ſufficient ſecurity? this memorable anſwer was given—" *there are not* " *many tools capable of ſuch accurate deſcription,* " *as ſhall enable a cuſtom-houſe officer to know* " *them on inſpection.*"

Indeed common ſenſe aſſures us, if every cuſtom-houſe officer had been a tool maker, and that the ſtatute effectually prevented a ſingle implement from leaving the country—that no officer, nor ſtatute, nor any human precaution can obliterate the knowledge of theſe machines when once acquired—and ſurely if the danger of this communication and of thoſe emigrations, is great, now, when there is no open trade between the countries: it muſt encreaſe a thouſand fold when all reſtraints are taken away, and the mutual inter-

* See their evidence, 22d June, 1785.

courſe of both the nations is permitted and promoted.

Thus then it is evident, that nothing is ſet down here in any aſſumption of ſeparate or ſuperior knowledge; and that every word and every argument, is advanced in pure reverence for the judgment of the manufacturers. And they deſerve this reverence—for ſee what a horrid image would ſpring from entertaining the leaſt queſtion of their veracity. They have ſworn that cheapneſs of raw material, cheapneſs of labour, low price of living, and lightneſs of taxation, muſt ultimately triumph over the fugitive ſuperiority of excellence in workmanſhip, &c. Theſe affirmations are true, or they are falſe. If falſe —then would thoſe manufacturers be the moſt ſcandalous herd of infamous perjurers, the moſt ſelfiſh ſordid band of vile wretches, that ever made part of any ſocial community, to forſwear themſelves in all theſe points, for the purpoſe of raiſing againſt their own fellow ſubjects a violent alarm; the deceit and fallacy of which would be manifeſt, if they ſhould behold with tranquility the ſame opportunities afforded to the natural enemies

enemies of their country. If true—the whole body of facts applies with exaggerated force to the caſe of France: and who can doubt the truth? The alternative has been put, not that there is even the colour of a ſuſpicion upon the writer's mind. So far from *ſwearing* a falſity, he does not believe there is one perſon among theſe great and reſpectable men, capable even of *ſaying* before ſuch an aſſembly the thing that was untrue. Throughout their whole conduct, a ſpirit of manlineſs, of juſtice, and good ſenſe appeared, which fully vindicates their character from ſuch malignant calumnies. The benefit of the natural bleſſings of their ſoil and climate, they declared it was not not their wiſh to take from their fellow ſubjects in Ireland. All they deſired was either to preſerve their own market for their own goods—or to ſhare it with the Iriſh upon fair and equal terms. In the whole nation there cannot ſurely be one being ſo baſe and wicked, as to believe that one voluntary falſehood was ſworn upon that great occaſion. The maſs of facts therefore, which raiſed ſuch univerſal apprehenſion in relation to Ireland, muſt create

tenfold terrors with reſpect to France—unleſs indeed, for *there* may be ſome conſolation,—the French are a people either in number ſo few, ſo barren of intellect, in natural faculties ſo obtuſe and unvigorous, and by ſoil and ſituation, ſo incapable and powerleſs, that we have a moral certainty of their never reaching us in any of thoſe branches wherein we now excel them!

Alas! alas! the French nation is not ſuch a people!!

Population is maintained by many to be the ſtrength of a ſtate. The population of France is treble that of our whole Iſland. Their taxes little more per man than one third of ours.* The difference of labour is about the ſame rate. Without aſſerting, as former writers have, that ſome of their provinces ſubſiſt ſolely upon cheſnuts, and many more upon broth and cabbage; it will not be denied that they live upon what an

* Great Britain has been calculated ſome time ſince, to pay about 50 ſhillings, and France about 17 ſhillings—the contribution of both countries is infinitely larger at preſent, but by Mr. Neckar's eſtimates, the diſparity is preſerved in favor of France.

Eng-

Engliſhman would not. Nor is any thing thence to be inferred againſt their bodily exertion, the fooliſh fancy having been long ſince refuted, that light living makes little work—for it is a fact, that the Iriſh ſubſiſt upon much weaker food than the French, and yet yield to no peaſantry or people in the world in bodily proweſs and activity.

The French have natural advantages beyond any other nation, and nothing can be more true, than the aſſertion of a very great man, who has every means of the moſt accurate knowledge, "that if all the nations "of Europe agreed to aboliſh duties, France "would underſell them all," Such, "ſays "*Puffendorf" is the fertility of France, that "ſhe not only has ſufficient for her own "inhabitants, but alſo enough to be ex-"ported to foreign countries; She exports "wine, brandy, vinegar, ſalt, all ſorts of "ſilk goods, and of woollen ſtuffs and "manufactures, canvaſs, linen, paper, glaſs, "ſaffron, almonds, olives, capers, prunel-"loes, cheſnuts, ſoap, &c. &c. No gold "or ſilver mines are to be found in France,

* Introduction to the Hiſtory of Europe.

"but

" but this want is ſupplied by *the ingenuity*
" *of the French, and the folly of foreigners,*
" *for the French commodities have drawn fleets*
" *of their money into France.*"

" The ſoil, the climate, the ſituation of
" France," remarks Lord Bolingbroke †
" the ingenuity, the induſtry, the vivacity
" of her inhabitants are ſuch; ſhe has ſo
" little want of the product of other coun-
" tries, and other countries have ſo many
" real or imaginary wants to be ſup-
" plied by her; that when ſhe is not at
" war with *all* her neighbours, when her
" domeſtic quiet is preſerved, and any tole-
" rable adminiſtration of government pre-
" vails, ſhe muſt grow rich at the expence
" of thoſe who trade, and even of thoſe
" who do not open a trade with her. Her
" baubles, her modes, the follies and extra-
" vagancies of her luxury, coſt England,
" at the time we are ſpeaking of, little leſs
" than eight hundred thouſand pounds,
" ſterling a year."

It is that mighty nation that fought us five times in leſs than a century—*ſingly* fought

† On hiſtory, page 213.

us

us in the two firſt of thoſe wars, though we were combined with all the great powers of Europe, continental, as well as marine—and ſhe got through them, both with honour and credit!

Our debt, before the firſt of theſe wars, did ſcarce exceed one million; * and France has raiſed it, by her manœuvres, to be near three hundred million. Then ſhe has encreaſed her own debt—true; but ſhe has alſo encreaſed her authority: for it is not in the weight of our burthens alone we feel her conſequence; in thoſe, I think ſhe leaſt has hurt us—we feel her influence in the loſs, not of a colony, but an empire, not of a handful of wretches, but of millions of men. We feel it in the rancorous enmity of our antient friends, and their total devotion to her purpoſes—in the naked, deſerted, abandoned condition, we are in; without alliance, connection, or ſuccour againſt the day of danger—while all the courts of Europe are more or leſs ſubſervient to her deſigns, from the terror of her power, the

* Hume ſtates it to be only 1,54,925 l. on the 20th of March, 1689.

addreſs

addreſs and wiſdom of her councils. That mighty nation, the ſource of daily anguiſh and anxiety to every thinking man in Britain; ſo renowned for invention, for induſtry, for art, for elegance, for ſcience of every kind; one of the moſt brave, vigorous, learned, polite, and accompliſhed empires that ever roſe in the world: is, in good ſooth—the *miſerable people*, whoſe defects and incapacity conſtitute our ſafeguard, for the preſervation of the ſuperiorities, whatever they are, which we poſſeſs at the preſent moment, in a few of our manufactures!!

And let it never be forgotten, I have mentioned it before, but it cannot be repeated too often, that every glimpſe of knowledge which France acquires from us, cannot fail to be uſeful to her, whilſt, on the other hand, the frame of the univerſe muſt alter, to put us in a capacity of profiting by any ſkill in her ſtaples. Other nations there are, from whom, in an interchange for our own goods, we may receive commodities that may be neceſſary, or materials for our manufactures; but from France we can have nothing except luxuries or ſuperfluities that muſt be pernicious.

pernicious. A trade between this kingdom and France, has been not unaptly compared to a trade between two grocers—for in the exact proportion of our imports from that country, muſt we impoveriſh our own nation, by diſemploying ſome of our own people in ſo far—and in ſo far cruſhing ſome branch of our trade.

Before this part of the ſubject is diſmiſſed, there is another obſervation very neceſſary to be made. They who ſuppoſe our ſuperiority to be univerſal in every claſs even of *theſe* few manufactures, are totally ignorant of the ſtate of the fact. In the coarſe and inferior parts, the French goods are better and out of all compariſon cheaper.—Even in their iron work, the common and ordinary conſumption, muſt certainly be ſupplied by themſelves—and in the better branches of the art, that Germans maintain a very ſucceſsful competition with the Engliſh; not only in France, where the qualities of the operation are leſs conſidered than in any other country; but even in Holland, where goods are more minutely inſpected. So of pottery—the lower orders muſt always be furniſhed by their own ma-

nufacture. Their earthen ware is much ſtronger, more ſuitable to their choice, and how much cheaper is needleſs to add. Their common cottons too are admirable, and from their lowneſs of price, muſt keep poſſeſſion of the market.—In the higher, and more elegant departments alone of theſe fabricks, does our excellence conſiſt. Theſe indeed are the moſt profitable, but the majority of France, and of all other countries, are not the gentry!

But if theſe few branches abſolutely obtained all the advancement in France, that is held out by the friends of the treaty, ſtill it would be pernicious to the nation to adopt it, unleſs it appeared that upon the *grand total*, there was a poſitive balance in our favor. For no trade is valuable but that which encreaſes wealth and induſtry, and a few particular lines of buſineſs may be carried to the higheſt pitch of ſucceſs and celebrity, without accompliſhing either of theſe great ends. One manufacture may periſh while another is promoted; and if the profit of the fortunate commodity goes to purchaſe that which fails, from a foreign nation, there is no advantage,

at

at all, and the art itſelf is gone for ever. The proſperity of a *few* branches therefore proves nothing in favor of the treaty, unleſs there is a probability of a balance in money accruing to the nation upon the *whole of the trade.* There is another point eſſential for the conſideration of theſe favored manufacturers. If they export largely to France they muſt give long credit. Payments may be ſlow, and recovery of debts there (after the late arrett upon that ſubject, which ſeems to have had this treaty in contemplation) will be, if not impoſſible, at leaſt very difficult—In the mean while, nothing is left to cheriſh induſtry, and invigorate that branch which waſted itſelf in deſperate operations. Trade cannot go beyond its capital, and *forcing* a manufacture ever has been, and will ever be pernicious. He who puts his whole ſtrength upon a ſpeculation of this ſort, will cut a proud figure in the books of the cuſtom-houſe, but may make a poor one in his bankers. Any article ſtretched beyond the bounds of nature, reaſon, and common ſenſe, muſt expire by overſtraining: as the human body does ſometimes by convulſion—where exertion for a

time is violent, but where debility is always and death is often, the fallible conſequence.

Thus far we have ſeen the treaty in its beſt bearing—namely, in its probable benefit to thoſe commodities in which we now excel; and whether this, which is the faireſt ſide of it, ſoftens many of its deformities, the reader will judge for himſelf!!

Danger to the Manufactures in which we are excelled.

THERE are ſeveral manufactures, not calculated for enriching the countries that cultivate them—others depend for their proſperity, nay, their exiſtence, upon whim and fancy. Happily for this nation, its ſtaple trade, the woollen manufacture, is not only the beſt of all commodities, both for the number of people it employs, and the wealth it turns; but is, by its excellent properties, of ſuch a nature, as to defy the force of caprice; and is enabled to riſe triumphant, amid the wrecks, into which the labours of the induſtrious are often thrown, by the faſhions and follies of mankind. Our woollens in times paſt, ſupplied the greater part of the foreign markets. To Holland alone, Dr. Davenant ſays, we ſent upon an average of many years, near fifteen hundred thouſand pounds worth, per annum, of woollen goods alone. Our exports chiefly of this article to Portugal, enabled us to maintain two armies

mies in that country, during two wars, without ſending one guinea out of this, for many years of which, no leſs than three hundred thouſand pounds were coined yearly in the tower of London, of Portugueſe money. The two thirds of our trade to that kingdom, from the year 1703, to 1750; and five-ſixths from the year 1750, to 1760, were clear gain upon balance. This I affirm, for I have been at the pains of comparing the exports and imports between England and Portugal during this century. Almoſt the whole of this was the work of our woollens; a manufacture dear to Great Britain, beyond any other the iſland trades in.

Before the conſideration of ſome facts that are deciſive upon the danger to the ſtaple of England from Mr. Eden's treaty, ſome leading obvious points there are, in the relative circumſtances of England and France, which are proper to be previouſly noted.

Excepting ſome Spaniſh wool, and ſome woollen yarn from Ireland, it appears, that the fleeces of England alone, are more than ſufficient to ſupply the Engliſh manufacture of woollens. France, on the other hand,

works

works up, not only all the wool of her own vaſt kingdom, but ſmuggles a great deal from England, a great deal from Ireland, imports vaſt quantities from Spain, from Barbary, from various parts of Greece, and from all parts of the world, where any is to be procured. The face of theſe facts preſumes, that France manufactures more woollens than we do. Yes: but the Engliſh goods are *better*. Be it ſo, but *cui bono?* Who gains by this?—If our woollen commodities *are* better, the miſchief is, that their ſuperior excellence ſecures neither preference of market, nor priority of ſale. We are particular in our choice of Spaniſh wool; the French take it indiſcriminately. None will do for us but the fine Segovia: the French buy the wool of Segovia; but they buy that of Arragon and Caſtile likewiſe. Of what uſe is it to ſurpaſs them, if they ſtill underſell us? The Engliſh make better, the French make cheaper cloth. In the quality of the article England excels; but France runs away with the market.

"Trade, remarks Dr. Davenant, is ſub-
"ject to many accidents—other countries
"may

" may ſet up the manufactures which we " excel in at preſent, and though not by the " *goodneſs*, yet by a *low price*, beat us down " in the markets abroad." We may carry this commodity to the higheſt pitch of poſſible beauty; but if we do not ſell a yard the more, but on the contrary, ſell millions the leſs by it, what is all this elegance of execution; but that we are arrived at a curious happineſs of pernicious improvements, and of refinements that muſt ruin us.

" All laws," ſays Sir Joſiah Child, in his diſcourſe of trade, " that oblige our " people to the making of ſtrong, ſubſtan- " tial, and (as we call it loyal) cloth, if " they were duly put in execution, would " do more harm than good, becauſe the hu- " mours and faſhions of the world change; " and at ſome times and ſome places (as " now in moſt) ſlight cheap light cloth will " ſell more plentifully, and better, than " that which is heavier, ſtronger, and truer " wrought; and, if we intend to have the " trade of the world, we muſt imitate the " *Dutch*, who make the worſt, as well as the " beſt of all manufactures, that we may be

" in a capacity of ſerving all markets and all " humours."

We ſhall now ſee that this good man's remarks have been ſingularly verified in the inſtance now under conſideration.

The woollen manufacture of France arrived not at the high point of its proſperity, until about the year 1760. Then a ſurvey was made throughout that kingdom of the ſtate of this fabrick, and the reſult ſhewed its vaſtneſs and extent; but there is a ſurer and ſorer proof for this nation, of that fact, in the Britiſh Cuſtom-houſe.

For the twenty years immediately preceding the year 1760, the general balance of trade between England and all the world, was not leſs than *five millions ſterling* annual, in favor of England upon an average of the imports and exports during that time. This balance fell ſhort nearly *two millions* annual, upon an average of the ſucceeding twenty years—namely from 1760 to 1780. To what then is this extraordinary decreaſe in the trade of England to be attributed?—to the rivalſhip alone of French manufactures and chiefly to the woollens of that country!!

In Turkey, Portugal, Holland, Germany, the Streights, in our favorite markets, and in our favored manufacture; France has ſupplanted and ſurpaſſed us. By a compariſon of our exports to theſe countries, in the twenty years preceding the year 1760, and the twenty years that follow; it will be found that upon an average, our annual diminution of exports thither exceeds this ſum. As thus:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Portugal decreaſe -	955,205	17	1¼
Holland ditto - - -	679,647	8	2
Turkey ditto - - -	36,455	0	5¾
Streights ditto - - -	873,834	12	6¼
	2,545,142	18	3¼
To which if Germany be added for the laſt ten years of the latter period, which amounts to	522,777	12	5¼
It makes in the whole	3,067,920	10	8½

If the Engliſh cuſtom-houſe is correct, the above abſtract is correct likewiſe. By this pro-

prodigious decreaſe of our exports, the woollens have been the principal ſufferer, and this injury has reſulted from the French, who have ouſted us in theſe channels. How then comes the manufacture to have ſurvived the loſs of ſuch markets is a very natural queſtion, and it will be anſwered in a few words to the ſatisfaction of the moſt incredulous.—Our exports during the laſt thirty years to Ireland, to the Eaſt Indies, to the Weſt Indies, to America, to Africa, have encreaſed more than double, in ſome more than treble. This extraordinary encreaſe has preſerved, nay, advanced the woollen manufacture,—but more than all, the *home market*, has contributed to its ſalvation and ſecurity. ! !

The ſuperior importance of the home market does not, it is true, particularly attach upon the ſubject of the woollen trade, but the notice of it here will not be out of time, and the deductions reſulting from it, will apply as well to every other branch.

Aware how frightful to moſt men is the aſpect of a page of calculations, the writer has ſtudiouſly, perhaps criminally, avoided all occaſion for objection to him upon that ſcore;

but the littlewhich here bears that complexion, is abſolutely neceſſary.

The population of this iſland is rated by many perſons at eight millions; this number one with another, are not maintained at leſs than 12 pounds each. Admitting thoſe eſtimates to be true, that near 80 years ſince had rated the expence at ſeven pounds each, this ſuppoſition can ſcarcely be deemed extravagant:—for within that time, riches, labour, manufactures and commerce, have encreaſed in a proportion far beyond this addition. Manifeſtly moderate as this eſtimate is, it makes the annual expence of the country to be about ninety ſix millions.

By a medium of the laſt ten years, our imports may be rated at about twelve millions a year. Allowing this twelve millions worth to be all conſumed in this kingdom (although it is certain that much of it is re-exported) there will remain about eighty four millions a year expended within this iſland.—If the writer were to pronounce from the opinion of the moſt intelligent perſons, in various branches of trade, he ſhould be authoriſed to affirm that the home trade was ten

times

times more valuable, ſpeaking generally, than all the foreign trades joined together: but taking for the ſake of method, the cuſtom-houſe as a directory, which would make our exports about fifteen millions: it will not be extravagant to conclude, that our own market is worth at leaſt ſix times more than *all* the foreign markets.—Upon the whole whether we conſume ſixty, or ſeventy, or eighty or ninety millions worth annually, the ſuperior and tranſcending advantages of the home trade beyond all others, are clear, evident, and inconteſtable!!

Now let us ſee what this treaty is plunging us into. Our trade to Holland, Germany, Portugal, Ruſſia, the Streights, Turkey, have failed us to an enormous amount, all ariſing from the ſuperiority of the French—This loſs has been more than compenſated by the augmentation of our HOME TRADE. Yet this very home trade, which more than redeems and repays all our loſſes by foreign countries, we are going to ſhare—with whom?—with France—to what end?—for obtaining her home market in return—with what view?—to underſell her—to underſell France in *her own market*, *who* has underſold us in *every other!!*

This

This is the preciſe fact without quibble or exaggeration, and this monſter of an idea ſo frightful and terrific to human reaſon, is the baſis and fundamental principle of this new treaty.

And is there any man who conſiders theſe facts ſo bereft of common ſenſe, as to believe that 12 per cent. is a protecting duty againſt the woollens of France! At this moment we depend upon the mere *diſcretion* of that power, for a ſource of the exiſtence of one great branch of our woollen trade—that which cannot be fabricated without Spaniſh wool. The whole French nation is abſolutely naturalized in Spain, by the family compact. They can have the Spaniſh wool without one farthing of impoſt. Againſt us there is a conſiderable export duty in Spain.—Yet though the words '*countervailing*' and '*reciprocity*' occur often in the treaty, there is no power whatever reſerved of countervailing this duty upon the woollens of France imported here.—Between this country and Spain no treaty exiſts—nor have we any certainty that France may not by her intrigues at Madrid, either procure an encreaſe of the Spaniſh duty

duty againſt us;—promote ſuch meaſures as may render our obtaining that indiſpenſable raw material extremely difficult—or perhaps prohibit its export altogether.

Undone is our manufacture ſhould any of theſe events take place—yet againſt events ſo far from impoſſible, there is not the veſtige of precaution or of remedy in the new treaty. Indeed the whole of our finer woollen goods, muſt, even without this interference, be annihilated. Againſt the ſuperior beauty of their fine clothes, we have nothing to oppoſe but a fancy that our own are better. Better let them be then, but who is the judge of it? —Colour is the only thing conſidered by the generality of people in this country, the quality depends on the taylor; and as he can procure French cloth ſo much cheaper than Engliſh, which he may ſell at the higheſt price, the taylors houſes will undoubtedly become immediate magazines for French fine cloth.

Without entering into a diſcrimination of the various ſorts of woollens, in which each nation excels, or into the conſideration of their excellence in ſcarlets and black, ſe-

curing

curing to the French the conſumption of the military, the law and the church (remarks which have been made by others, and are very worthy of notice); overlooking too, the advantages which our rivals have in dying drugs, ſoap, aſhes, &c. as well as the facility they will have of obtaining from us, the only raw material peculiar to us, the fullers earth (againſt the export of which we have inſtituted ſuch violent penalties) ſurely, ſurely, the facts here eſtabliſhed, combined with the low price of labour, living, taxation, ſuperior population, and numberleſs other obvious conveniences, conſtitute—if not any of them ſingly, yet all of them collectively—a body of *demonſtration* that this treaty will be the *utter deſtruction* of our STAPLE TRADE!!

GLASS.

THE GLASS TRADE ſtands in a worſe predicament than even the woollen, and as its danger is eſtabliſhed upon authority ſuperior to any reaſoning of mine; the reader is referred at once to that authority, namely, the teſtimony

mony upon oath of Mr. John Blades, and Mr. Samuel Parker; Mr. James Keir, and Mr. John Holmes:—delivered before the Houſe of Lords in June, 1785—four of the firſt men in the different branches of *cut* and *flint* glaſs.

The amount of their evidence was, firſt, that *no* countervailing duty was *poſſible* to be laid that could protect them—and ſecondly, that only one way exiſted of putting them on equal terms with the Iriſh—namely—the *abſolute repeal of all the exciſes upon their manufacture*—independent of low price of wages, living, taxes, &c.

The firſt of theſe poſitions is eſtabliſhed by the two firſt gentlemen ſwearing—" that the " articles are ſo various in their forms and " dimenſions, that it is *impoſſible* to aſcertain " a proper countervailing duty"—the two laſt on their oath declare that—" inſuperable " difficulties will attend the fixing a coun- " vailing duty even on plain glaſs. The " waſte in manufacturing being as various as " the articles and ſize; from the nature of " the buſineſs, it will be impoſſible to aſcer- " tain it on them ſeparately, nor can it be

" aſcertained on the average value or weight " of the goods; the waſte, and conſequently " the duty on them not being in any certain " proportion either to the value or weight of " the goods manufactured."

The ſame gentlemen prove the ſecond poſition thus—" there are beſide *the duty paid*, " advantages equal to 20 per cent.—which " are the various reſtraints the manufacturer " is laid under from the nature of the exciſe " laws, and the preſence of exciſe officers in " a manufactory—being precluded from " making experiments and improvements for " the introduction of new branches into " their manufacture, becauſe the heavy duty " is paid over and over again upon the repe- " tition of every experiment, whether ſucceſs- " ful or not, and upon all accidents of waſte, " breakage, &c." Mr. Blades and Mr. Parker ſwear that " the manner of collect- " ing the duty makes it, inſtead of one " pound, one ſhilling, and five pence per " hundred weight of plain glaſs, as the law " is worded, no leſs than 1 l. 17s. 1d.—that " four hundred weight of plain glaſs is uſed " to produce one hundred weight of finiſhed " goods,

" goods: the duty on that hundred weight " is not 1 l. 1s. 5d. as may be ſuppoſed from " the words of the law, but actually *ſeven* " *pounds eight ſhillings and four pence*, leaving a " clear profit of more than *ſix guineas in favor* " *of the country that pays no exciſe*."—They add, that " *in conſequence of the exciſe*, the " Iriſh would be able to purchaſe their plain " glaſs 50 per cent. cheaper than England," and thus theſe gentlemen finiſh—" unleſs a " duty of 50 per cent. be laid on Iriſh plain " glaſs imported, and a further duty on cut " glaſs, adequate to the reduction of the " weight and the riſk in cutting; and unleſs " there is a drawback allowed on the expor- " tation of Engliſh plain glaſs equal to the " duty actually paid, with a further allow- " ance for the reduction of the weight and " riſk in cutting, ſo that it may go clear of " all duty, the Iriſh will underſell us not " only in their own, but in the Britiſh and " all foreign markets."

Theſe affirmations being credited, and who can be baſe enough to doubt them, the glaſs trade muſt be given up as compleatly undone by this treaty; becauſe all theſe facts apply

to France with aggravated force. Upon their oaths theſe gentlemen themſelves have proved the rapid progreſs of the manufacture of glaſs in France, whoſe agents they proſecuted for ſeducing their men into that country, but not until they actually procured nine artiſts to emigrate. The ſtrides this manufacture has made lately there, are notorious.—From the exciſe, that curſe of this trade in England, France is totally exempt:—in all the coarſer parts of the manufacture they excel us out of all compariſon; and in the finer, the celerity of their improvements is incredible. The French market muſt in a few months be totally out of the queſtion, but the peril to this branch in the *Engliſh* market is indeed a grievous proſpect; for ſurely if 50 per cent. upon plain, and the additional duty upon cut glaſs, were indiſpenſable to protect the home trade againſt *Ireland*, it is ſubverting the plaineſt principles of human reaſon, and an abſolute libel upon the underſtanding of mankind to maintain, that *twelve* per cent. will be ſufficient to protect it againſt *France*.

The manufacture of *plate glaſs*, is given up altogether. In that branch the French ſurpaſs the world; and they can ſell it 30

per

per cent. lower than we can. That the ſuperiority both as to quality of work and cheapneſs, of a nation ſo contiguous as France, (who can bring the commodity in half the time to the London market, that the country manufacturers can poſſibly ſend it up) muſt immediately overthrow this article, is one of thoſe points which, (the premiſes being inconteſtable,) it is preſumed nobody will diſpute—but if any, really doubting the fact, do diſpute it—let them enquire, and they will be convinced!

Connected with this laſt article in ſome degree, is the branch of *cabinet ware*, a branch that has a great deal to fear, and little to gain by opening a trade with France. In mahogany work, the Engliſh undoubtedly excel all other nations; but the French have a diſlike to mahogany. Beſides the great expence, its clumſineſs and unwieldineſs rather prejudice them againſt it.—Their own cabinet wares are ſo much more light, more gaudy, and more conſonant to the fancy and national character of the French, that our cabinet ware has little proſpect indeed of a market in France; but runs in reality no ſlight

riſk

riſk of being itſelf conſiderably injured at home, by the importation of theirs; which look ſo beautiful, and are, perhaps one hundred per cent. cheaper. It ſhould be recollected too, that if the French ſhould, in their zeal for all ſorts of manufacturing knowledge, think proper to cultivate the mahogany branch; we reſt, in a great degree, upon their mercy, or upon that of Spain (who is the mere bubble of France) for this raw material. The mahogany of Jamaica is certainly of a better quality, but Jamaica is found not to be inexhauſtible in this article; and two thirds of the Britiſh manufacture is ſupplied by wood from the ſettlements of Spain: who may, through the intrigues of France, obſtruct our facility in obtaining it. The only ſettlement of our own, that produced this ſort of material, namely, the Muſquitto ſhore, has been yielded up to Spain by the late convention. That convention is not without its bearing upon this treaty; but, as it would lead to the policy of the miniſters, in other objects, not directly relevant to the trade with France; the writer purpoſely avoids the conſidera-

tion

tion of it, as he cannot hazard any thing which might leſſen the intereſt this treaty ought to excite, by blending with it the diſcuſſion of topics, which happen to be of a more engaging complexion, though perhaps not more dangerous in their operation.

The minor manufactures of CAMBRIC and LACE, are of the number of thoſe branches that muſt be radically annihilated by this treaty. Thoſe indeed are not very flouriſhing; and as little objects muſt be abſorbed in great ſchemes, no complaint could colourably be maintained upon points ſo comparatively trifling, were any conſiderable project, any national benefit, or general public good, at the ſame time accompliſhed; but when in fact, none of theſe is in the leaſt accompliſhed—the little cauſe, even of theſe little fabricks, will ſpeak with a hundred tongues. In the courſe of the laſt year, there were, (the writer underſtands) no leſs than twelve thouſand pieces of cambrick actually ſtamped in Scotland. * Theſe, at fifty ſhillings a piece, make thirty thouſand pounds, and this ſum, though it does not aſſert the proſperity of the manufacture, is capable of ſupplying many

* The cambricks of Ireland will be conſidered by and by.

hundreds

hundreds of families. The lace makers alſo are cut up, root and branch; and cannot ſtand one day after the treaty is ratified.—It is *not* a trifling queſtion to aſk, what is to become of theſe poor people, and of the thouſands of others that muſt be turned adrift from other branches. They who anſwer that ſuch people can turn their hands to ſomething elſe; and who, in the levity of their wantonneſs, ſuppoſe, that trades are to be learned in a moment, or that the long eſtabliſhments of honeſt induſtry, might, with ſafety, be ſubverted, in order to ſport a ſyſtem of experiments: mark only, in ſuch a reply, that nothing can ſurpaſs their impolicy, but their inhumanity!!

MILLINERY too is another trade that cannot combat the cheapneſs of France in the Britiſh market in the operative part. In truth, ſo far from *twelve* per cent. being any ſafeguard for worked millinery, not *fifty* per cent. could protect it. Now is it *cant* to plead the cauſe of the vaſt number of women who are ſupported by the various branches of worked millinery? In truth, the only trade to be promoted by this meaſure

meaſure, is one, whoſe reaſonably flouriſhing ſtate before, required no ſtimulus—the trade of female proſtitution!!

When the multiplicity of articles which may be comprehended under the name of millinery, are conſidered; the moſt ſerious alarm upon this part of the treaty, is unavoidable. The power of importing worked muſlin under this head, at twelve per cent. on which, at our India ſales, is laid a duty of 18 per cent. for the expreſs purpoſe of protecting the Britiſh manufacture; is one of thoſe glaring blunders which cannot ſtand a moment; and which is perhaps at this time rectified by Mr. Eden's ſecond viſit to Paris—but a greater grievance ſtill remains.

Here it is neceſſary to call the attention, in particular, of the COTTON MANUFACTURERS, and indeed, of the whole Engliſh nation, for the ſubject is worthy their joint conſideration.

The enormous duty * charged, at the ſales of the Eaſt India Company, upon India muſlin and callico, has, for its main object, the

* About eighteen per cent. upon muſlin, about thirty per cent. upon calico.

encouragement of the Britiſh manufacture of both theſe articles. This principle of encouragement is extended even to the printing upon callico; on all of which that is India, a duty is charged, of about double what is paid for printing upon Britiſh callico. In defiance of all theſe diſcouragements; the conſumption of India callico in this country is prodigious.

If this great duty were taken off the India goods, there could be no chance for the Engliſh manufacture to ſtand—granted—but if, beſide the exemption of duty upon the India goods, a duty of twelve per cent. were impoſed upon all Britiſh goods of the ſame kind, what *then* is to become of the Britiſh?—they are inſtantly undone—all inſtantly!—This is a fact that I aſſume; challenging all the power of man to controvert it.

Now, the greater part of the duty upon India goods being drawn back upon their exportation, the French can buy them at our ſales, and ſend them to France thus diſembarraſſed. If thus diſſembarraſſed in the the Britiſh market, they could annihilate the Britiſh trade; exiſts there a remnant, or

ſhade

ſhade of hope, that the Britiſh can meet the India goods at the French market; where the goods of India are *exempt from the duty*, and thoſe of England abſolutely *charged with one of twelve per cent.!!*

This cannot be made too plain—the calicoes and muſlins of England muſt be deſtroyed, root and branch, if the duty on India goods were to be taken o *here*; how then can theſe goods of England expect a market *there*, where they will be charged with a duty of twelve per cent. in oppoſition to the goods of India that will be free of duty?—I am bereaved of my faculties if this caſe is not clear!!

Have the ſpeculators in cotton goods conſidered the point? The thing is impoſſible!

This, likewiſe, is a grievance, perhaps without remedy. At our own ſales the French can purchaſe the goods—at our own cuſtom-houſe, the duty on them is remitted—The report of a French factory in Calcutta is certainly not true in all its extent. Some time ago the Engliſh Eaſt India Company agreed to deliver goods at a certain profit to the French at Bengal, and the French re-

jected the conditions. The *treaty* was not perhaps then in view; and the French, in all likelihood, have ſince found reaſon to be anxious to revive and ratify the terms firſt offered by the company—But though they ſhould fail in this effort; though the report of the factory at Calcutta ſhould be falſe throughout; and though meaſures were here adopted, to prevent (a prevention next to impoſſible) the French, from getting India goods—ſtill *our* channel being ſtopped, does not bar the acceſs of India goods into France from every other. The neighbouring Eaſt India Companies will chearfully ſupply them; and, as to *preference*—the French would be not wiſe ſtateſmen, but wretched drivellers, if they did not prefer the manufactures of any power in the world to thoſe of England—even the manufactures of the Mogul or Mahometan!!

The man who anſwers theſe points will be of uſe to the treaty.

French

French Wines, Vinegar and Brandy.

THUS far the Staple Commodities of France have remained unconſidered; and though theſe have not been taken into the account, the reader perhaps may be of opinion, that even without bringing them in aid of the imports from France, there exiſts ſomething more than a probability, that the balance will be againſt this country—but when ſuperadded to all the other articles, they leave no doubt of the fact!

All men who have hitherto turned their thoughts to the ſubject of a trade between France and England, have uniformly ſupported this idea—that as wines, vinegar and brandy, are the peculiar growth of France, *they* ſhould be exempted from the equality or reciprocation of duties, which it might be fit to lay upon all *ſuch* articles, as the two nations poſſeſſed in common, the power of cultivating.

The body of great merchants, who, in the year 1674 were conſulted by the commiſſioners whom Charles the 2d appointed

for

for a treaty of commerce with France, eſtabliſh this, as a primary and immoveable maxim, "That the wine and brandy ſtand "upon *a diſtinct foot*, and the French have "*wholly* the advantage thereof above the "Engliſh." So forcibly was this principle felt by the acute and ingenious gentleman who was firſt employed in the negociation of a treaty of commerce with France, * that he (the writer has reaſon to believe) meant to bargain for an entrance into France for ſome of our moſt flouriſhing manufactures free of all duty, as ſome ſmall counterbalance to the eternal and intangible advantages of France in the locality of her ſtaples. Thoſe who made this treaty thought otherwiſe; and, inſtead of obtaining any object in conſideration of theſe articles being attached to the ſoil, or of even preſerving the preſent high duties upon them —have in a ſlap, reduced the duties upon wine, from near a hundred pounds to *forty-ſix*—upon vinegar, from ſixty-ſeven to *thirty-two* pounds per ton—and upon brandy, from nine ſhillings and ſixpence, to *ſeven ſhillings* per gallon, beſide fractions.

* Mr. Craufurd, a gentleman abundantly capable of elucidating this ſubject.

It

It is profeſſed on the ſide of our government, that the treaty with Portugal is to be religiouſly preſerved; and not a *letter* of it is indeed violated in the new arrangement. But this proves, like a thouſand other acts, how poſſible it is to adhere to the words, and yet ſubvert the whole ſpirit and meaning of a compact.

The future is beſt foreſeen by a conſideration of the paſt; and we have a proof upon record, from the trueſt teſt of the fact which has ever exiſted: * that lowering the duties upon French wine is direct deſtruction to the

* Abſtract of an account preſented to the Houſe of Commons, in the year 1713, of the import of French and Portugal wines into the port of London, during the four years preceding the reign of James the 2d, when the French trade was prohibited; and the four years that follow, when that trade was open.

Years.	French Wines.		Portugal Wines.	
	Tun.	Gallons.	Tun.	Gallons.
1682	———	—	13862	201
1683	———	63	16772	7
1684	———	—	1611	108
1585	———	—	12185	140
1686	12760	237	289	59
1687	15518	97	327	26
1688	14218	171	540	205
1689	11109	92	579	220

wines

wines of Portugal. When James the II. opened the trade with France, the import of Portugal wines fell no leſs than *ten thouſand, ſix hundred and ſeventy tuns, a year*, during the four years it remained ſo—while that of French wines *encreaſed* no leſs than *thirteen thouſand, four hundred* and one tuns, per annum, at a medium of that time. If we can be convinced, that this which *has* happened, never can happen again, let us hear the reaſon!

We have generally found the Court of Portugal eaſy and tractable. In the year 1681, the Portugueſe ſeduced a body of Britiſh clothiers and baizemakers into their country, and they ſet up woollen manufactures at *Alegree*, *Covillhan*, and many other places. They proceeded in cloth making, the materials for which they had in abundance, with ſuch ſucceſs, that in three years after, by advice of their famous miniſter *Erceira*, they prohibited the importation of foreign woollen cloth; and in fact ſupplied all *Portugal* and *Brazils* with this commodity until the year 1703.—In that year Mr. Methuen had the addreſs to perſuade them it would be

their

their advantage to ſign the treaty, called after his name. They ſigned the treaty, and its effects were immediate demolition to their whole woollen manufacture, and the yielding of near a million a year upon balance to this country. Though Mr. Faulkner, who will doubtleſs, execute his commiſſion with honor and ability, ſhould be as ſucceſsful with the preſent miniſter of Portugal, as Mr. Methuen was with the Marquiſs of Allegrete, it might add to the character of that gentleman's capacity, but will not make any man of common ſenſe in England think, that the compact of 1703 is not in ſubſtance overturned by the treaty of commerce with France ſigned by Mr. Eden.

The original price of the ordinary French wines is lower than that of Port—their quality and flavor ſuperior far—the diminution of duty (though one third more does ſtill remain upon France) is ſo great, as to level them at leaſt to the rate of all *port* wine drinkers; and if this does not cruſh the trade of Portugal, it can only be—that the population of theſe iſlands is to be doubled by the treaty—or that our paunches are to be ex-

panded—or that the whole nation can bear a ſtate of conſtant drunkenneſs!!

Indeed there remains another way of proving that the wines of Portugal will not loſe their market—either that *no* additional quantity of French wines will be uſed in England—or that *wines in general* will grow into ſuch univerſal conſumption, that the meaſure of Portugal import *may* ſtill be preſerved. The authors of the treaty are welcome to their choice of this alternative—for the beſt of them ſtamps condemnation upon their conduct.

—The firſt would make the treaty a juggle upon France, and a robbery upon Great Britain!—it would be rendering France no favor ſince the high duty was ſuppoſed not to hurt her; and it would be taking off a very neceſſary tax upon a luxury in England, which was paid by thoſe among us who could well afford it.—The ſecond imagines ſuch an aſtoniſhing increaſed conſumption of wines in general, that Portugal muſt be ſaved in the immenſity of it. This if true, demonſtrates infallible deſtruction to the native liquors of our own people.

In fact this treaty, if eſtabliſhed, *muſt* encreaſe the uſe of French wines beyond all former

former example: and its ruinous effects will be felt by the wines of Portugal in a *leſſer*—by the rum, the ſpirits, and the breweries of Great Britain in a *much greater degree!!*

VINEGAR.

The vinegars of Great Britain muſt of neceſſity ſuffer by the great decreaſe of duty upon thoſe of France. The latter are confeſſedly ſuperior; and the difference of price in a quart can ſcarcely exceed four pence.

This article in the judgment of the writer is a very ſerious conſideration, but ſtill the remark is made for no more than it is fairly worth!

BRANDY.

Not ſo of brandy.—The popularity of this liquor in Great Britain is notorious. In truth it has ſo bewitched the lower orders of people in times paſt, that the ingenuity of good men among us has been often employed for its total excluſion out of this country.

A report of the Lords Commiſſioners of trade to King William in the year 1697, ſtates expreſsly, "that French brandy has "been found by experience to have occa- "ſioned debauchery, to be prejudicial to "the health of your Majeſty's ſubjects, and "loſs of many of their lives, and proved a "great hindrance to the conſumption of "malt; if it could be totally prohibited, we "humbly conceive it would be for the good "of your people and the eaſe of the na- "tion."

Without diſcuſſing all the parts of this report, it is unqueſtionable that French brandy, even under the higheſt duties that our laws have ever laid upon it, has always been found a moſt dangerous rival in the Britiſh market to our own manufactures of rum, beer, and ſpirits. Objects theſe are of great conſideration to the Britiſh nation! The materials of them are the native produce of our own countries—numbers of our people are employed in working them—and they all pay a conſiderable duty to the public revenue. The land-holder by his malt, the dealers in cyder and perry, the whole Weſt India trade, all

the

the breweries and diſtilleries are involved in the effects of lowering the duties upon French brandy!

Theſe things being kept in contemplation, and feeling that all men, writers and nations that have ever turned their thoughts to commerce, agree univerſally—in the encouragement of a native, before a foreign manufacture; the firſt point to be concluded would have been: that if government deemed it expedient to lower a duty upon an article which vitally affected ſo many intereſts, the very leaſt intended at the ſame time, was of courſe a reduction of the duties upon thoſe articles of *our own*, againſt which it might militate; proportionate to the diminution of impoſt upon the *foreign* and *hoſtile* commodity.

This would have been the concluſion of common ſenſe; and who could have ſuppoſed that ſo great a reduction as two ſhillings and ſix pence upon every gallon of French brandy being engaged for by a Britiſh miniſter, but that the *ſame rate* of decreaſe in duty *at leaſt* was meditated in favor of the Britiſh manufactures.—Nothing was farther from the miniſter's thoughts. Not only the '*boon*' as he called

called it to France, was vindicated upon ſyſtem—but a direct and poſitive denial of all eaſe to the Britiſh commodity moſt affected by the meaſure, given in poſitive and peremptory terms! The fair inference which this fact warrants is, that as the *boon* to France inverts all the received rules of national trade; it muſt have been extorted, for the acquiring of ſomething ſo greatly good, as muſt invelope the evil of ſuch a ſacrifice in the ſplendor of the benefit to be derived; and that the miniſter who was emboldened in ſuch an inſtance to depart ſo courageouſly from the firſt principles of commercial fitneſs, felt at the ſame time juſtified in ſo laudable a deviation; and was determined at all hazards to accompliſh that end, which could not be otherwiſe attained!!

—Alas nothing like this appears in the complexion of Mr. Pitt!—His denial indeed of all relief upon the firſt viſit of the Weſt India trade was loud and ſounding—but it was the bluſtering of a bully, and not the firm tone of manlineſs—for upon the ſecond viſit of the ſame gentlemen, he ſurrendered his ſyſtem altogether, and after coming within

two

two pence of their demands, he desires them not to consider his negative, even of that two pence, as at all final!

Now whatever may be our predilections or antipathies for public men, let not language be so debased, nor the decent dignity of man's reason be so blurred and scandalized as to call such conduct *facility*, *good humour*, or *conviceableness*.—Errors may be forgiven, and mistakes overlooked; but deliberate crimes of office must not be put by in such a stile. Men who undertake the government of nations should know their interests: and such treacherous ignorance must not be varnished over by the examples of ordinary imperfection.

—Let the reader consider the magnitude of this project. In favor of a *foreign* and *rival* nation, an act is engaged for, that ensures destruction to a multitude of interests *at home*, —but the minister was not aware of the danger, *until* the West India merchants pointed it out.—Is that an excuse?—*What* intelligence could Mr. Pitt obtain from these gentlemen in December, which he could not obtain from them in May?—Is there a channel of information impervious to a man in his situation?

ation? All the ſources of the moſt exact knowledge are at his command—all—and a miſtake from neglecting them, is not *error*, but GUILT. Let not the ears of men therefore be abuſed, by ſaying, that he only committed a fault, and was afterwards convinced of it. The criminal raſhneſs of the enterprize can only be exceeded, by the weakneſs of the conceſſion.—It unbraces the whole ſyſtem of propriety in public buſineſs, to admit ſuch miſerable excuſes—for in truth, what is it, but that paſt wantonneſs is to be palliated by future levity; and a girliſh pliancy be an atonement for the deſperation of a mad man!!

So much for the miniſter's manners upon this great object.

With regard to the memorial preſented by the Weſt India merchants;—nothing can exceed its preciſion, brevity, and force—but ſtill the memorial is only general in its averments—following it up with ſpecific claims having been truſted to the diſcretion of the gentlemen of the committee. In great deference and reſpect to thoſe gentlemen, it ſeems to me that they were rather unwary in ſome principles

which

which they are ſtated to have advanced in their converſation with Mr. Pitt. The reduction neceſſary to preſerve the *preſent* difference of duties between French brandy and our own rum, is one ſhilling and nine pence per gallon. This ſum was not demanded by the gentlemen—they only deſired five pence per gallon. Now ſo far as an opinion goes, mine is clearly that five pence would not protect the rum. But be that as it may—it is not the *point* which is conteſted here, but the *principle* inferred from it. A reduction of five pence a gallon on rum, leaves one third more of duty on French brandy—With this proportion the Weſt India committee declared they would be content. —When Mr. Pitt preſſed them to countenance a further reduction of duty on French brandy—they wiſely declined an opinion in ſuch circumſtances, *but* aſſerted that the difference of one third leſs duty on rum, would in all caſes protect them againſt the brandies of France.—

Here ſeems the miſtake!—That difference would *not* protect rum if the reduction were *extreme*. Many eminent perſons in that trade

deny that even this rate of duty will ſave the commodity. Brandy is a more popular liquor than rum—its original price much leſs—the *extreme* diminution of duty on both, would level brandy to the reach of the pooreſt claſs, and brandy from its intrinſic advantages would run away with the conſumption, even though the diſparity of duties was ſtill preſerved!

Upon this maxim is founded the danger to the wines of Portugal, upon which the duty ſtill one third leſs than on thoſe of France—but the vaſt *Size* of the diminution of duty defeats the protection which before reſulted from the diſparity. So of Engliſh vinegar contraſted to French. The latter is of twenty-fold better quality than the former, and the prodigious decreaſe of the impoſt, ſuperſedes the ſecurity which the Britiſh article derived from the difference—while the impoſt was high. If this maxim be true with regard to wines and vinegar; it operates at the leaſt as forcibly in the caſe of French brandy and Britiſh rum—perhaps it operates ſtronger—for there is no obvious reaſon why the *degree* of diſparity between the duties on French

and

and Portugal wines, ſhould be an example between brandy and rum.

(The writer intended to have elucidated this point farther; and to have added in this place the probable loſs to the cuſtoms and exciſe by lowering the duty upon the ſtaple commodities o France, together with ſome ſtatement of the danger to the whole trade of Britiſh ſpirits, the breweries, diſtilleries, and that branch of Weſt India concerns that relates to ſugar and molaſſes, by this treaty—but the multitude of other important objects that preſs for notice, obviate the practicability of thoſe conſiderations—at leaſt in the firſt impreſſion of this pamphlet.)

Thus far we have ſpoken independent of revenue. It might be ſome excuſe, though but a bad one, if in the wreck of Britiſh manufactures which this treaty threatens, any ſecurity exiſted for the public revenue—No ſuch ſecurity in truth does exiſt, but on the contrary an enormous defalcation ſtares us in the face if the treaty be eſtabliſhed, which defalcation ſo far from being retributed by the duties upon French goods, muſt all be made good by this groaning nation!!

Effects of the Treaty upon Smuggling.

TWO great contiguous nations robbed of their legal rights by the depredations of ſmugglers, might perhaps find it their mutual advantage to form an open intercourſe of trade, for the ſecurity of their reſpective revenues; although a treaty between them of reciprocal benefit from the repugnance of their commercial intereſts in almoſt every article of their common conſumption, was utterly impoſſible in any *other* point of view. As near this ſituation as a nation could be, was Great Britain. Never was country more harraſſed—never were revenues more plundered than our own. The report of the ſmuggling committee, all our acts of finance, and many acts of regulation for the laſt three or four years, are deciſive of the height to which this grievance has grown amongſt us: and for additional teſtimonies of the wideneſs and weight of the evil, it is ſufficient to refer the reader to Mr. Pitt's eloquent ſpeeches upon the commutation act, the hovering act, the India loan act, and the many other ſtatutes enacted lately for the ſuppreſſion of this free booting.

France has been the ſource of this calamity—under all circumſtances, the illicit importation of

French

French goods has formed one of our greateſt miſchiefs.—Even when the trade was open, the moſt intelligent computations have uniformly rated the articles *ſmuggled*, to be one third more at leaſt, than the cuſtom-houſe entries—their encreaſe of courſe was proportionate to the reſtraint, when the trade between the kingdoms was cut off.—

Aware of all this, who could have ſuppoſed but that a Britiſh miniſtry in the formation of a commercial arrangement with France, would at leaſt have prevented the growth of this grievance—if they did not abſolutely deſtroy it altogether!—Alas! if all that has been hitherto urged againſt this treaty were utterly unfounded—if inſtead of being generally injurious in all points, and fundamentally ruinous in many; it happened to be the moſt wiſe, judicious, provident meaſure, a country ever adopted; the iniquities of it in ſmuggling alone, independent of all other objections, are ſo monſtrous, that it would be deſperation in the country to have any thing to do with it!!

Before we notice the new faculties which this treaty will afford to ſmuggling, let us firſt obſerve the articles whoſe entrance will render us the greateſt injury.

The treaty ſigned by Mr. Eden, is ſaid to be better than the treaty of Utrecht, in its bearing upon *ſilk goods*—on the *face* of it, it is better indeed, but there alone conſiſts the excellence! The treaty of Utrecht had undoubtedly prevented

vented the growth of the ſilk manufacture in Great Britain, but then the evil had been little felt, as there was ſcarcely one flouriſhing ſilk eſtabliſhment in this whole kingdom—but if Mr. Eden's treaty deſtroys that fabrick, waſting and wide indeed muſt be its effects—for although the caprice of faſhion, and the general uſe of cotton goods, together with the ſmuggling of French ſilks, have occaſioned a caſual ſtagnation in this branch; a change of that whim will renovate the luſtre of the manufacture, and retrieve the * thouſands that depend upon it. Mr. William Hanſon of Mancheſter, in his evidence before the Houſe of Lords on the 15th of June, 1785, ſwore that the Iriſh had an advantage over the Engliſh ſilk manufacturer, of 30 per cent. *in reſpect to exciſe and labour*. Labour in the working of ſilk is infinitely dearer in Ireland than in France—the exciſe affects it not—and for the excellence of the French fabrick, even manufacturers themſelves cannot diſcern a difference between it and Engliſh. The portableneſs of this commodity is unneceſſary to remark. The ſame gentleman has proved "that a piece of ſilk, conſiſting of "ſeventy bandanoe handkerchiefs—*the duty on* "*which is* 21. 10s.—will when calendered, lie in "leſs compaſs than *four pounds of tea*." All the

* Mr. Richard Lee in his evidence before the Houſe of Lords, June 10th, 1785, ſwore there had been lately 64,000 looms in London and its neighbourhood.

branches

branches of this buſineſs will be inſtantly and ſenſibly injured; but that of ſilk hoſiery muſt be radically undone. Even now when the intercourſe is not open between the two nations; ſo enormous is the ſmuggling of ſilk hoſiery, that unconnected and unaided by the *other* lines, *that* part of the trade muſt have long ſince been given up? The branch of ſiik ſhoes muſt be entirely deſtroyed in Great Britain —for a pair of French ſilk or ſattin ſhoes, can be ſold in the ſtreets of London, for a great deal leſs than Engliſh ſhoes made of calimancoe, and for one third the price of Engliſh ſilk ſhoes. Indeed in women's apparel generally, this part of the treaty will be moſt immediately felt.

The trade of women's gloves, once a great and lucrative branch, muſt be ſupplied entirely by the French. Kid ſkins of which they are made, is a raw material peculiar in perfection to the French—the whole produce of this iſland not being ſufficient to ſupply a ſhop-keeper's conſumption for two months. French ſkins ſmuggled in here, or entered at the cuſtom-houſe as coming from other countries (a fruitful ſource of fraud and litigation) formerly ſupplied this manufacture. Even then the ſmuggling of French gloves was prodigious—but the French above a year ago laid an export duty of two ſhillings per dozen upon the export of kid ſkins; and as if this was not ſufficient to demoliſh the Britiſh manufacture, our own government laid

laid on the glove tax; which operated as a bounty of three ſhillings per dozen to ſmugglers, and perfected the deſtruction of the kid ſkin trade. French gloves are now ſold with as little ſcruple in this country, as all gloves are notoriouſly ſold without any ſtamp. Worceſter and Weovill the chief ſeats of this trade complain bitterly—but the repeal of the glove tax will not in truth cure their grievance, as the amount of that duty proves it is not the cauſe of it!—Though given for 50,000 l. a year; the whole collection for a year and a half ſcarce exceeds 18,000. The higheſt price paid in France for making gloves is *three halfpence* per pair.—The loweſt in England, is *three pence*—The general price four pence, and ſometimes ſix pence. With the advantages of the raw material, it is no wonder they ſhould have borne all before them in this branch; and if previous to the intercourſe which this treaty will open, all theſe devaſtations have been committed with impunity upon theſe manufactures, what colour of hope can be entertained of their ſurviving the facility, under which ſmuggling muſt in future be carried on?—Without fear of contradiction, I ſay *none!!*

Let theſe facts be an anſwer to thoſe who think the penalties of 200 l. upon every parcel of theſe articles, conſtitutes any ſhield for the manufactures. Severe ſumptuary laws are ſeldom efficacious, and the proof reſting upon the

perſon

perſon in whoſe cuſtody the prohibited wares are diſcovered, forms no ſafeguard. A moſt liberal latitude of caſuiſtry is commonly employed in the explanation of cuſtom-houſe oaths—The penalties indeed exiſt, but we know nevertheleſs, that the goods are publicly ſold every hour in the day!'

In all manufactures of *gold* and *ſilver*, the French will have ſurpriſing advantages by ſmuggling them in here. Tied down to a particular ſtandard, and labouring under the new grievance of the late tax upon gold and ſilver articles, the Engliſh traders cannot contend againſt the French; emancipated as they are from thoſe difficulties. Their gold is of different ſtandards, and ſome of it twenty-five ſhillings an ounce inferior in value to our gold. Watches they can ſell to a certainty, thirty per cent. cheaper than we can. But if in the fullneſs of our pride, we are confident that our own goods will always have priority of purchaſe at home, even againſt this extraordinary difference; (a concluſion not very reconcilable to rules of rational œconomy) yet let it be recollected, that the export of theſe articles forms an eſſential wing of our foreign trade.

—To the Eaſt Indies alone, above half a million worth of watches and clocks are annually ſent; and if there were any certainty that the company would not countenance the export of any other than Britiſh goods (a ſurety which the company can-

not give, and if they did, which this nation ſhould not take) the private trade in their ſhips, will in all probability be entirely furniſhed with French goods —which the adventurers can purchaſe ſo very cheaply, and diſpoſe of abroad to ſuch high profit.

French ſtationary too, if ſmuggled into this country, is capable of being re-exported to infinite advantage. The duty on paper in England, amounts to twenty-five per cent.; and paper made into books of account, is allowed no drawback upon exportation hence. The paſteboard and vellum, which are ingredients in this commodity, pay a heavy exciſe. Our paper, the copper-plate ſort excepted, is certainly ſuperior in quality to the French, but made up in an account book, the diſtinction will not be eaſy; and the profit cannot well be leſs then ſixty per cent. Dutch paper, which with ourſelves is ſo much uſed in this article, the French have upon far better terms than the Engliſh. To this catalogue, might be added the hat manufacture—For although our hats greatly exceed in goodneſs thoſe of France, it is notorious that they underſell us in foreign countries, and yet purchaſe the beaver upon very diſadvantageous terms in the Britiſh market. Numberleſs other commodities may be added to theſe, whoſe illicit entrance to this country is an object of much concern, even to the home conſumption; but is of much more ſolid conſideration in the practicability

bility of their being re-exported to our foreign ſettlements.

Of theſe evils, part exiſt in fact, and part in ſpeculation. The paſt have evidently evaded the ſharpeſt laws, and thoſe executed with all the vigilance that *ſuſpicion* could excite. What then is to be our chance againſt ſmuggling, when this principle of ſuſpicion is compleatly extinguiſhed —all the energy of theſe ſtatutes relaxed, and every proviſion againſt illicit trade poſitively diſſolved and waſhed away ! ! !

That they are ſo, is demonſtrable by the contents of the 10th, 19th, 25th, and 26th articles of the treaty, ſigned by Mr. Eden; than which the genius of man can invent nothing better calculated to encourage, to ſanctify, to *ſtimulate* ſmuggling. With regard to the goods which remain probibited, the 19th article of this treaty might be conſtrued to have had nothing elſe in view, than to ſhelter their entrance into this country. A French ſhip may hover round the coaſt as long as it pleaſes—may enter into any part of the three kingdoms that is moſt eligible, upon any plauſible pretence; may remain there as long as convenient, without breaking bulk—or may affect to break bulk, and ſell a part of her cargo, or not, juſt as the captain wiſhes—all reſts in the captain's own diſcretion. Here is the beſt deviſed channel that the mind of man can fancy, for

pouring in thoſe goods, which are not permitted in the treaty. The 26th article expreſsly guarantees all theſe powers, and diſarms the port officers of every privilege. Not even an account of their loading are the ſhips obliged to give, unleſs they are *ſuſpected upon ſure evidence* of carrying—what—warlike ſtores to enemies actually at war! Theſe warlike ſtores are deemed contraband.—The 23d article enumerates the goods that are not contraband; and theſe comprehend every commodity which is prohibited entrance into theſe iſlands!! Thus, under pretence of trading to other countries, pleading bad weather, or to uſe the preciſe words of the 19th article, "*making land in any manner whatever*," the ſhips of France may enter our harbours; and under the ſanction of all theſe exemptions, may inundate the nation with thoſe goods, for which no miniſter dared to propoſe a public and legal admiſſion! Nay, we may become the victims of our own hoſpitality; and French ſhips affecting diſtreſs, may make the characteriſtic generoſity of our iſlands, inſtrumental to the deſtruction of our trade and revenue!!

Thus far the probited goods.—Reſpecting thoſe which the treaty permits—if the duties impoſed upon them be important, either as objects of revenue, or of protection to our own manufactures, the tenth article of the treaty nullifies and defeats both purpoſes. In truth, what ſhip is

to

to be defined a ſmuggler under this treaty, it is impoſſible to aſcertain; for the treaty makes it every merchantman's intereſt to be a ſmuggler. Whatever frauds the trader may deſign upon the revenue, he is indemnified by the 10th article—for let his entries and declarations be never ſo falſe, he may plead that it was the miſtake of his "factor, his interpreter, or ſomebody employed "by him"—and then no evil can befal him, but paying the legal duties. The worſt fate that can happen to the moſt errant ſmuggler—is being put upon the ſame footing as the faireſt merchant!

Let the 10th, 19th, and the 25th articles be coupled together, and it will be evident that the combined ſkill of both nations could not deviſe, nor can the human imagination conceive or contrive any ſcheme better adapted to create and ſhelter the moſt unbounded ſyſtem of ſmuggling, than this treaty, one of the profeſſed aims of which is the ſuppreſſion of it!

Upon thoſe ſeveral articles which apply only to the caſe of one of the two nations being at war with another nation, the writer forbears to ſay one word—perſuaded that Great Britain never will wage war with any country, in whoſe favour France will not ſpeedily take part againſt her; he cannot play ſo idle a part as to waſte his own and the readers time, in commenting upon a caſe ſo flagrantly improbable—not but that this part of Mr. Eden's treaty is alſo moſt abundantly defective!

Effects

Effects of the Treaty upon our Navigation.

IF our naval power is the ſource of our greatneſs, whatever affects it, is an object of our deareſt anxiety. To this we owe, what yet remains to us of external conſideration among the kingdoms of Europe. Even a loſing trade that promotes our navigation becomes reconcilable. The China trade is pernicious to this country in a commercial view; yet even within the laſt year, the nation has endured an extenſion of that injurious traffic, chiefly becauſe it encreaſed our navigation.

This great object, which in its infinite magnitude to the national intereſts, does ſoften us to the permiſſion of a loſing trade, can never in ſound policy be ſuperſeded by any conſideration of gain!

If the trade with France, though immediately detrimental, and ultimately ruinous to this kingdom, can be proved capable of promoting our navigation, even I am ready to admit, that many objections muſt ſink before ſuch a fact;—but if this trade, the opening of which augurs ſuch manifold calamities to this kingdom, of a nature merely commercial; comprehends alſo the ſeeds

of

of inevitable deſtruction to our navigation; who is the man, obtuſe or hardened enough—who is the proſtitute, ſo corrupt and abandoned, that ſhall tell us, SUCH a trade is fit to be eſtabliſhed by an act of our legiſlature?

Common ſenſe tell us, that in proportion to the diſtance or vicinity of any ſtations of maritime trade, muſt be the ſize of the veſſels neceſſary for the carriage of that trade. Long voyages require large ſhips, and the more men—ſmaller veſſels and fewer mariners anſwer for the ſhorter. The queſtion with reſpect to navigation, ſtands exactly as it did at the time of the treaty of Utrecht, with only this difference againſt the preſent treaty; that in the former period, *we* ſhould have engroſſed the whole navigation, the French not being then ſo well ſupplied with ſhipping; as, unhappily for us, they are at this time—though their naval regulations are not without defects. During the diſcuſſion of that treaty, it has been clearly proved that the greateſt trade in any one year between France and England, was capable of being carried at once in thirteen thouſand tuns of ſhipping. The freight was valued then at twenty ſhillings a tun, and the amount of the whole did not exceed thirteen thouſand pounds a year.—Suppoſing only one voyage to be made in a year. This point is very clearly elucidated in the *Britiſh Merchant*—and I quote that book in this

this inſtance alone, as an authority—becauſe upon this object, it is unuſually convincing and deciſive.

But let us admit the contrary.—Be the ſhipping five times, ten times greater, it will not alter this poſition—that a French trade is more deſtructive than any other to Britiſh navigation. Ships *one fourth leſs* in ſize, and with *one fourth leſs* of mariners, will drive the trade with France, than are uſual in the Mediterranean, the Levant, and Italian trade—when to this conſideration is added, the capacity of making ſix voyages to France for one voyage to theſe countries; who is the man ſo ſtrongly nerved, that can ſee without horror ſuch a proſpect to the navigation of Great Britain by this treaty? !!

Even our ſmuggling from France was ſerviceable to our navigation. Our own revenue was indeed cheated by our own people, but then thoſe people upon occaſion, fought our own battles, built their veſſels in our own country, and in our own country ſpent the produce of their activity—illaudable, or illegal is out of the queſtion—for neither conſideration will weigh with the French, into whoſe hands the greater part of this illicit trade muſt fall, from the excluſive ſanctions afforded them by Mr. Eden's treary!!

Fallacy of ſome Objections to the Treaty.

MR. Eden's treaty, is truly ſaid to be a literal tranſcript of the treaty of Utrecht. Indeed he has copied that treaty with a fidelity of exactneſs, unexampled in any inſtruments that ever before were executed between ſtates—deviating from it only * in ſuch points, as marks nothing but frowardneſs or caprice: inaſmuch as he had no temptation, and was compelled by no neceſſity, to ſuch aberration.—

A difference in the wording of the fifth and fourteenth articles of this treaty, from their correſponding articles in that of Utrecht, has occaſioned the propagation of ſome fears; which, (although very far from unwarranted, by looking only on the ſurface of the inſtrument) are perhaps injurious to that ſpirit of vigorous reſiſtance, which is indiſpenſable to the defeat of ſo baneful an arrangement as the preſent—for men like children, take moſt things upon truſt, and a plauſible refutation of one falſe or frivolous objection, may lead perſons to preſume a ſimilar fallacy in grievances that are real and ſolid.

* The ſixth article is neceſſarily underſtood to be an exception to this ſimilitude.

The fourteenth article of this treaty, which, in contradiſtinction to the expreſs abrogation of that inhuman prerogative of the French crown, was ſuppoſed not to ſecure this country from the operation of the *Droit de Aubaine*, *does* undoubtedly aboliſh and annul it. We are placed upon the footing of the moſt favoured nations, and this law is given up in the caſe of the Swiſs and the Scotch, by a peculiar grace. It is given up alſo in favour of the Dutch by the tenth article of the treaty of commerce between them and France, ſigned at the peace of Nimeguen, the 10th of April, 1678,—and in favor of the Americans in the eleventh article of their treaty with France, ſigned the 6th of February, 1778. But let nobody underſtand that the ſlighteſt merit is due to the miniſters who made the treaty, for the abrogation of this law. The French themſelves, are ſenſible of its barbariſm and impolicy, and preſerve it from formal extinction, (which Mr. Neckar propoſed in counſel in 1780, * not as an act of favour, but a meaſure of good government) only perhaps to make the ſurrender of it a bug-bear in negociating with ſuch wittol nations as they have found Grear Britain to be in the preſent treaty.

On no better baſis is founded the clamour upon the ſuppoſed violation of the *charters* of this kingdom. The fifth article indeed is groſly liable to

* See the 25th chapter of his third Volume.

miſinter-

miſinterpretation; but why ſhould we cavil upon terms, when the invincible evidence of reaſon, common ſenſe, and the common tenor of the treaty, aſſure us it cannot mean what the mere words may be conſtrued to import. To confer rights upon the French nation, which no Engliſhmen obtains, unleſs by locality of birth, by ſervitude, or by peculiar grace to public men for ſome ſignal ſervices—CANNOT be the purport of this article. —An act of violence, ſo daring and audacious—ſo impudent and unexampled an aſſumption of authority, as the moſt determined tyrants that ever attempted the infringement of any of our liberties, never even fancied they could perpetrate againſt the corporations of this country, without trial or conviction for breach of truſt!—This can never have entered into the contemplation of any miniſter! Forth from the moment SUCH a project were avowed, lives there one man in theſe iſlands, who would be ſo baſe a ſlave as to reſt one day in peace, until our rights were vindicated, not merely in the relinquiſhment of ſo deſperate an enterprize, but in the puniſhment—the *death* of any man—who ſhould be guilty of ſuch high treaſon againſt the liberties of the land!!

Such an outrage is certainly not intended, and as this treaty is abundantly deſtructive to ſo many great and ſerious intereſts in reality, not imagination; thoſe who have trembled under theſe falſe

fancies, had better transfer their terror to objects that are more worthy their alarm.

In this acquittal of the treaty it is not denied that the 18th article ſeems to trench upon ſome of thoſe rights known by the name of package, porterage, &c. but it is fair to ſuppoſe, (and it is probably the fact,) that this article is only an inadvertence—not incapable perhaps of eaſy remedy. It marks however the clumſineſs and criminal precipitation, with which the whole of this great buſineſs has been concluded.

In other relations that have been ſpoken of, thoſe in particlar, of *burial* and *religion*; the treaty is equal indeed, but conſummately unfair. A French barber may be buried here in the higheſt pomp, and lay as proudly, if he pays the ſexton, as our greateſt peers, in that ſilent ſcene which levels all deſtinctions. It is otherwiſe in France with Engliſhmen, and the treaty leaves that ſcandal where it found it. The bodies of our countrymen dying in France are huddled by ſtealth into a hole, as dead dogs are tumbled into ſome ditch, pitched upon for its naſtineſs and contamination—and it had been honourable to the nation, as we deny not the ſame grace to our neighbours; if their miniſter had vindicated and confirmed the common right of all Chriſtians, to a reverend and ſentimonious interment, among that people, upon whoſe elegant ſpirit in other points,

points, this vile cuſtom conſtitutes no ſlight reflection. !

What is here urged, refers in particular to *burials* in that country, becauſe ill health obliges many perſons to reſort thither—for otherwiſe, as one of thoſe ſelfiſh diſtinctions which the ſavage temper of what is called religion creates, the thing would be an advantage to us; and therefore, the writer profeſſes an approbation of the religious *reciprocity* of Eden's treaty—or in plain Engliſh, becauſe there is no reprocity at all. In England a Frenchman may pray wherever he pleaſes—happily for Great Britain no ſimilar toleration prevails in France !

——That ſuch odious things as religious prejudice, thoſe aſſumptions of peculiar beatitude, from peculiar infallibility in the mode of faith; an impious arrogance, from which no ſect is free, and to the damnable operation of which has been owing the mutual butchery of all Chriſtian claſſes for ſo many generations, under the abominable notion that it was ſerving God—to murder his creatures for their zeal in adoring him—all this wicked infanity, it would be the natural wiſh of every citizen of the world, to ſee extinguiſhed, and bruſhed from the face of ſociety.——

—But to ſpeak in the character of a *Britiſh* citizen, the language ſhould be this; " Cultivate bi-
" gotry in the French, and promote among them
" all

" all religious perſecution that is not inconſiſtent " with humanity—as the greateſt evil that can be " rendered to that country, and the greateſt good " to this." If indeed an open trade is to exiſt between us; the abrogation of the *Droit de Aubeine* is indiſpenſable; but otherwiſe the rigorous exerciſe of that cruel juriſdiction is the very thing which a Britiſh politician ſhould deſire!

That beautiful and bewitching country has too many ſeducements for our people; and were all theſe obſtructions removed, perhaps the frequent viſitations of Engliſhmen to France would be leſs confined to the light and the trifling amongſt us. It behoves us therefore, if we cannot augment, at leaſt not to remove any obſtructions to our rivals proſperity. Our example may go far with ſo wiſe a people; and this is one of the curious and ſingular caſes, wherein ſelfiſhneſs is liberality; and an avarice both of ſenſe and ſentiments, the ſoundeſt wiſdom, and the greateſt national virtue. Whatever ſuperiority we have above the French in particular branches, or in the general ſyſtem of our trade, we owe to their own pride and their piety. The ambitions of the higher claſs of Frenchmen are abſorbed in their armies, and with them a ſomething like ignominy, or a certain ignobleneſs attends upon trading purſuits. This claſs indeed is very little infected with religion; but it is different with the lower orders. Thoſe who engage in buſineſs are two

or

or three days in a week, diverted from their labour to bear a hand in ſome devout ceremony—and the loom and the ploughſhare are deſerted, to ſee the altar ſmoke in all the ſplendour of ſacrifice!!

Let the French gentry relinquiſh their contempt for trade, and the common people the pernicious fanaticiſm of ſaints day keeping, and he, who engages that our partial ſuperiority in a few manufactures will ſurvive ſuch a change, for even one year, is as bold a man, as that man is weak, who can derive much confidence from the ſuppoſed duration of theſe impediments, in ſo enlightened and penetrating a people as the French.

The independence of the Gallican church whenever Rome claſhed with the civil views of the French Government, is known and upon record; and thoſe who think that, becauſe theſe obſtacles have exiſted in paſt times in that country they are always to continue ſo, might find an anſwer to ſuch a fancy in contemplating the eſtates of the Emperor of Germany at this day—where every barrier that religion raiſed againſt the ſucceſs of the country, is daily trampled under foot—where toleration and ſociality of ſects are the faſhion, throughout the realms of that very houſe of Auſtria, which ſo often, and ſo lately, ſacrificed all foreign concerns for the ſake of religious perſecution at home; and which deluged every field of her vaſt dominions, with the

blood

blood of her own proteſtant ſubjects; merely becauſe—*ſuch* they were!!

Would it were poſſible for me to ſay, that our own kingdoms were always unſtained with the ſanguinary effects of religion—In truth, what church has been more proud, more bigotted and barbarous, than our own? But liberty, which is the ſource of all that is great and noble amongſt men, ſubdued this rancour; and by placing our freedom upon a better bottom, than the prerogative of princes, maxims of moderation and good ſenſe became infuſed by degrees into our church. The gradual adoption of lenity and toleration, in the courſe of this century clothed our worſhip with the garb of real devotion; and the lovelineſs and beauty of our religious and civil ſyſtem, proved our belief, that there was a God of charity—and that man was our fellow creature! To the mild ſpirit of our laws, and to the ſoftened temper of our religion, is owing the ſignal ſucceſs of our trade—let us ſtill guard this trade, thoſe laws and that religion, and the time may be diſtant indeed, before even France, with all her natural capacities, may overturn our commerce or deſtroy our Empire!!

Operation

Operation of the Treaty upon Ireland.

THE treaty ſigned by Mr. Eden furniſhes in regard to Ireland, a ſituation perfectly new in the hiſtory of mankind. A Sovereign is to preſent to his kingdom a treaty of commerce large and complicated in its principles and detail; in which treaty, from the firſt to the laſt line; in not one article, paſſage, or point; in no one manufacture, branch, profeſſion, occupation, or intereſt; is there the ſmalleſt poſſibility, in any ſhape or ſenſe, of benefit to that kingdom, before whoſe legiſlature ſuch a treaty is to be laid with great gravity and form! This is the preciſe fact—and this forms an event new in the hiſtory of mankind!!

Well—but this treaty which cannot be of uſe, will ſurely be of no injury to Ireland. Common ſenſe and common ſhame would require at the very leaſt, that there was a moral certainty of its not *hurting* that country in any ſhape.—The truth is ſubſtantially the direct reverſe—for it augurs manifold miſchief to her in a variety of ways.

It is the misfortune of Ireland that the linen ſhould be her ſtaple manufacture—for the linen is not an enriching trade as *a ſtaple*, and the poverty of Ireland in the midſt of the ſplendor to which ſhe has carried this branch, is the beſt proof of this poſition. However it *is* her ſtaple trade, and a better ſhe cannot in an inſtant eſtabliſh. Has ſhe

then any chance of a market in France in this her only article? Not the leaſt—for the rate of duties being made the ſame as on Dutch linen imported into Ireland, it operates as a prohibition. This however turns out to be a miſtake in the negociator, and Mr. Eden's excuſe is his ignorance.—He knew nothing it ſeems of the additional 5½d. laid by the parliament of Ireland lately upon *Holland linen; and he is gone back to Paris to rediſcuſs and renegociate that treaty, which he has actually ſigned three months ſince, and which is in the hands of every man in Europe as a finiſhed compleat inſtrument. The neglect of the linen of Ireland is ſtated as one of the principal reaſons of this ſecond embaſſy, and that Mr. Eden may be the more ſtimulated to the real ſervice of Ireland, he is accompanied by a *German linen merchant*.—A Britiſh factor *for the linens of Hambrough*, is the coadjutor ſent with Mr. Eden to guard, ſecure, and encourage *the linen of Ireland!!*

What the ſucceſs may be of this original kind of miſſion, is not eaſy to foretel—but if againſt all

* Duties in Ireland upon Holland linen.

		s.	d.
Damaſk tabling	—	0	9 per yard.
Towelling and napkins	—	0	4½ per yard.
Diaper tabling	—	0	5½ per yard.
Diaper napkins	—	2	10 per dozen.
Linen	—	0	7½ the ell

To theſe ſeverally, the Iriſh Parliament have lately added 5½d. more, of which Mr. Eden, when he eſtabliſhed this as the mutual duty upon France and Ireland, is ſaid to have been entirely ignorant.

paſt experience between ſtates, Mr. Eden ſhould prevail on the French government to break this treaty which was ſo ſolemnly executed the other day, (and as it is their intereſt not to ſtand upon punctilios they will in all probability comply) let Mr. Eden take care that under the notion of advantage to Ireland he does not ruin her. Fine linens are thoſe wherein the Iriſh chiefly excel the French. Lowering the duties may perhaps encourage Iriſh fine linen into France—but it may alſo encourage French coarſe linen into England—and let theſe two facts be kept *ſtill* in view—that the French in reality have no fancy for *fine* linen—" and that the " majority of mankind are not the gentry." The Engliſh market is of the firſt moment to the linens of Ireland. It is of more value to her than all other markets, put together at leaſt twenty-fold; and four fifths * of all the Iriſh linen that is imported to England is conſumed in it. Facility of ſmuggling from France will certainly injure, and may hazard the very exiſtence of her linen trade, even under the rate of duties impoſed by the treaty as it ſtands; and it is a ſerious conſideration whether in fact that duty ſhould be leſſened or not.

But with regard to the cambricks of Ireland, the deſtruction to that branch by this treaty outſtrips any cruelty that can be imagined. Iriſh cambrick has made in the courſe of a few years the moſt extraordinary progreſs. It ſupplies almoſt

* Report of the Board of Trade, July 17th, 1780.

the whole conſumption of that country, and would ſpeedily have gained the moſt ſucceſsful footing in this.—One fact is worth many ſpeculations. A houſe of the firſt conſequence in the Iriſh linen trade, aſſured the writer of this paper, that from the growing popularity of Iriſh cambrick in England, they had determined to buy for the preſent year TEN TIMES MORE than their uſual quantity; but that the treaty prevented their ordering *one yard*; and that they dared not venture to purchaſe any of it, if the cambricks of France come into England upon the duties ſettled in the treaty.

The Iriſh manufacture of cambrick differs widely from the Scotch. The latter is ſinking every day, and the Scotch are obliged to have the yarn from the French themſelves. The former is a flouriſhing trade, the raw material of which is of Iriſh produce, a branch of their ſtaple trade, and one in which their growth for the laſt two years is almoſt incredible. Now why all this—why all this deſtruction to the manufactures of a country that gains nothing in return?—nothing.—Nay Ireland is bound hand and foot by the treaty, for ſhe is never in any caſe, whether as a meaſure of revenue, regulation, or government, to encreaſe the duty on French wines beyond the preſent rate!!

There is a mixed conſideration too which ſhould be attended to upon this point. In ſo far as England was a market for Iriſh goods—ſo far the danger of ſmuggling from France in the preſent

preſent ſtate of the treaty affects the intereſts of Ireland.—In ſo far as Ireland was a market for Britiſh goods; ſo far the treaty is deſtructive to England. A generous impartment is made to Ireland of all its evils, without the leaſt capacity of compenſation in any way whatever—diveſted as ſhe is of the partial power of indemnity, which great Britain poſſeſſes by her ſuperiority in ſome particular branches.

That this treaty confers upon France a maſs of advantages, from which our own ſiſter iſland is debarred, cannot be denied.—Now this is a point into which for ſome reaſons, not material to be here ſtated, the writer does not think proper to enter. The moſt ſhallow underſtanding is capable of reflection, upon the communication of benefits to an enemy and rival; that are withheld from fellow ſubjects. Let us ſuppoſe then, that ſo prepoſterous and ſhameful a diſtinction is not intended—then mark what follows. An arrangement backed with *conditions* muſt of courſe be offered to Ireland.—An earthquake, that ſhould ſhake the whole iſland to its centre, cannot be more tremendous to the ears of Iriſhmen, than a miniſterial offer of arrangement, after the example of 1785! Iriſhmen in the government of that country, we are told are come over here to look after the intereſts of Ireland.—Indeed, indeed I am ſpeaking the ſentiments of that nation when I ſay, that in theſe men the Iriſh have no confi-

dence.

dence. The moſt crooked counſellor in Great Britain, whether ſecret or oſtenſible; the moſt verſed in duplicity and ſyſtematic deception towards Ireland, cannot be more hateful to that people, than the ſort of Iriſhmen alluded to. Their kindneſs even more than their enmity is terrible to their countrymen, and the warmeſt prayer of the nation would be, "Save us, O Lord from the "friendſhip of ſuch Iriſhmen."!!

Let us here ſuppoſe the ſyſtem of 1785, to have been rejected upon miſtake.—The main drift of it was *not* to purloin, and juggle the Iriſh out of their liberties!—all this we will take for granted; ſee then what a memorable leſſon may not a wiſe miniſter draw from ſuch an admiſſion. So jealous, ſo enthuſiaſtic is that people in the fears for their freedom, that they ſcout a meaſure which might be ultimately of ſome advantage to their commerce, becauſe it ſeemed to trench upon their liberties.—The writer forbears giving any opinion upon this point, as indeed, he does from all approach to party, or to local politics—but for the purpoſe of the argument, concludes, that the whole Iriſh nation knew nothing at all of this matter.—Yet this is certain, an attempt to force down that meaſure would have produced a civil war in Ireland—not indeed againſt this country; but againſt their own government. The prudent ſurrender of that ſyſtem prevented ſo dreadful a calamity; and what elſe but madneſs and deſperation, again

ſo hazard ſo perilous a precipice. Original, and unſimilar in all paſt combinations of one empire, is in truth the connection of Great Britain and Ireland—between both nations however, the moſt perfect peace, harmony, good will, and good faith ſubſiſt.—In the name of God, then Mr. Pitt, do not again riſk the ripping aſunder this cement of amity and attachment. Be warned by the late example of their wiſdom and ſpirit—or if you will have it ſo, of their whim and violence. The advantages given by this treaty to France, may perhaps in decency be tendered to Ireland. A condition will accompany that tender—a condition, neceſſary perhaps to the ſecurity of England, the Iriſh may again ſpurn it. And what does all this prove?—Demonſtrably this—that ſuch a treaty as the preſent ſhould never have exiſted!!

The writer cannot diſmiſs the ſubject of Ireland, without ſuggeſting a point which has made ſome impreſſion upon his own mind.

The Iriſh are as loyal a people as any in the world; and of that whole kingdom, the better ranks of the catholics, are perhaps the *moſt* loyal. Like all men in all countries of their low eſtate, the Iriſh peaſantry however are ignorant and ſeducible. A ſtrong ſympathy prevails among all religioniſts of the ſame denomination; and there is perhaps ſomething peculiarly contagious, if not in the doctrine, at leaſt in the diſcipline, of the Romiſh church.

Now,

Now, is it refining upon foreſight to aſk whether there is *no* danger from ſuch an infuſion of French, as this treaty will pour into Ireland if it is eſtabliſhed in that country. Even the higher claſſes of catholics are imbued with ſentiments of favour and politeneſs towards France; and that diſpoſition marks not a diſaffection to Great Britain, but it aſſerts the innate generoſity and gratitude of thoſe who feel it. During the exiſtence of laws in that country, which (whatever motives might have pleaded for their adoption in times of turbulence) were oppreſſive and barbarous againſt the catholics; the ſeminaries of France afforded education to the children of the Iriſh, and their armies gave them employments and honours. It is their *virtue* therefore to poſſeſs a kind diſpoſition to that country. The cauſe of the pretender is perhaps dead and gone; but, ridiculous as it may ſeem, nothing could be eaſier than to ſhew, that the Princes of France have often ſet Europe in a flame, upon grounds, even more abſurd than their claiming Ireland, on the ſcore of antient intermarriages with the family of Stewart. The faith and honour of the catholic gentry in Ireland are, I am ſure of it, proof to all the intrigues and ſeduction of France—but theſe bear a ſlight proportion to the lower orders, who are not ſo inacceſſible to corruption, when ſuch a channel is opened for it, and who certainly might

be

be dangerous inſtruments in the management of ſuch a power as France. A cloſe inſpection of the preſent ſtate of Ireland in *other points* may ſuggeſt additional caution upon this ſubject, but in theſe apprehenſions, perhaps the writer is ſingular; he cannot, however, help thinking—though this conſideration may not of itſelf be ſufficient to occaſion the rejection of this treaty, that it forms at leaſt abundant matter for—heſitation!!

General Obſervations on the Principles, the Neceſſity, and the Political Tendency of the Treaty.

THE Principles which are obviouſly aſſumed in the formation of this treaty, imply that France conſumes more luxuries than England. Of luxuries alone muſt the interchange of goods between them conſiſt; and ſurely thoſe who have formed the above preſumption, have ſuffered ſome extraordinary deluſion to blind their judgments upon mere points of fact, as glaring and invincible as any that exiſt. Great Britain ſurpaſſes any nation in the world in the conſumption of luxuries. Let a faſhion, or a fancy for any commodity, or any object, be but propagated, and all the efforts of all that deal in the article can ſcarcely ſupply the general demand. This prevails univerſally in relation to every point, whether of pleaſure, fruition, or ornament. It forms a part of the national character, and has its ſource much leſs in vanity, than in the finer qualifications of ſociality and ſympathy.

This is one of thoſe queſtions which every man can decide for himſelf, by looking round and obſerving things as they are, and as they have always been. Even France herſelf, in her national ſtaples,

gives

gives ſignal teſtimony to the truth of this poſition.

For whom are her fineſt vintages manufactured?—Whither go her choieſt wines and brandies?—For England all. All come to this country; the beſt of markets for the rareſt dainties. The vaſt kingdom of France does not conſume of teas, a ſingle million of pounds per annum.—Sixteen millions ſcarce ſupply the calls of theſe three iſlands, and a difference almoſt proportionate to this, is palpable in every other article of luxury. In this view, therefore, the nation has every thing to dread from the treaty—and *we ſhall pay for whatever we uſe*—for the French are ſure that no order of a government here, and no convulſion from a ſudden war, can ſhake the good faith of their Britiſh cuſtomers.

Some men there are in this country, who never think of any thing elſe than ſtocks and revenue. Great indeed ſhould be the terror of theſe men; if they combine the monſtrous decreaſe in exciſe and cuſtoms, inevitable upon the adoption of this treaty, with the actual ſtate of things at the preſent moment. Upon an aſſurance from authority, that there was a poſitive exceſs, of one million in our income, above our expenditure; a law has been made for an annual redemption of ſo much of the public debt at all hazards. Nothing further ſhall be here ſaid upon that ſubject than, that this official

aſſurance was, to ſay no worſe of it, *miſinformation* —for, ſo far from ſuch an exceſs exiſting, the revenue falls ſhort of the real expences of the country very little ſhort of the entire amount of this promiſed ſuperflux—and the ſuppoſed produce of the ſinking fund is abſolutely anticipated three quarters of a year at this moment; to maintain this farce of a payment.—A conſideration therefore of the operation of the treaty upon *thoſe points*, is worth the while of that curious claſs of men who think of nothing elſe.

As to the NECESSITY of this meaſure, it cannot be imputed to an abſolute excluſion from the French market, even of thoſe very manufactures, whoſe promotion by it forms its chief defence. At the beſt, ſuch a plea would be only a gloſs; yet even that gloſs cannot varniſh the treaty. Moſt of thoſe articles by their ſuperiority and elegance, penetrated an entrance to the French market before; and they can be had now in Paris, with perhaps as little difficulty as in London. This they *have*, without hazard to their exiſtence by that communion of ſkill, which is implicated with this treaty: and they went even upon better terms, than they can get there after the ratification of this arrangement—for the countervailing duty muſt be ſuperadded to the twelve per cent.—the medium price that is now paid the ſmugglers. Indeed the finer

ſort

ſort of cottons will go to the French market upon leſs advantage than heretofore.

In ſome of thoſe branches the treaty has made no ſtir, for the chief queſtion is whether they ſhall pay the ſmugglers, or the King of France. The facility of trade however gives a clear preference to a legal admiſſion—ſtill more ſo, as it is preſumable that the demand will encreaſe.—But this ſhould not be concluded to a certainty. Mr. Eden ſeems to have meaſured the conſumption of France by the example of the capital. There indeed ſome of our goods are in faſhion; but when one conſiders the ſort of perſons that commonly lead in faſhions, it will be difficult to count upon the duration of their predilections. Removing that reſtraint which poſſibly has contributed to the popularity of our goods, might perhaps turn the current of whim to their utter neglect. Upon the whole it is clear that the French market was not abſolutely inacceſſible to theſe manufactures, and that they ſtood not in need of ſuch deſtructive advancement as this treaty offers to them and to this nation!!

NOW LET US SUPPOSE this new æra of commerce arrived. Though many branches of our foreign trade are injured by the rivalſhip of France; our compenſation is it ſeems more than certain in a com-

commerce, with that very country. In repugnance then to reaſon, facts, principles and precedents; let us ſuppoſe that this trade *will* be highly beneficial to us. In ſuch a caſe does the reader think that France will feel any embarraſſment to break this treaty? or what will our condition be in the event of a war with that country? Engaging all our faculties in a profitable trade with France; we ſhall be neceſſarily abſtracted from other channels; and this profitable trade for which we ſhall have abandoned our former connections, is cut off at once, and we are turned adrift.—The image of the *fact* is ſtill more dreadful—for that which muſt be its *real* ſtate, an impoveriſhing trade, encreaſes the horror of our condition. The little will then be leſs, and we are thrown out ſuddenly to ſeek for freſh cuſtomers and markets; in the moment of univerſal havock, when all the powers of the country are wanting in military operations. Then follows not ſtagnation, but wide ruin to every trading intereſt. New nations cannot ſpring up to receive our goods, nor the old nations be reconciled at once to renew a trade with us: and as to the *friendſhip* of other ſtates—the thing is gone forever on that very day this treaty is eſtabliſhed!!—

—Here we are come to that GREAT OBJECTION, before the ſupremacy of which all other faults do vaniſh into nothing—*the political effects of this treaty upon foreign powers!*

Surely

Surely the predicament in which the author ſtands at this moment is a new one—that a citizen of the Britiſh empire ſhould feel a ſerious neceſſity of cautioning his country againſt the friendſhip of France. And yet this neceſſity exiſts—for what have we been accuſtomed to, for a ſeries of months paſt, but panegyrics on the *good will*, the *kindneſs*, the *ſincerity*, the *amity* of FRANCE to GREAT BRITAIN—and further—that a trade which it is contended *muſt* be injurious to her, inſures us a peace with that country—Oh miſerable folly!—This ſure is either ignorance ſo groſs that to notice it is derogatory; or it is hypocriſy of the moſt puſilanimous kind.—

The man who praiſes an enemy to ſhrink from his proweſs, is at beſt but a cunning coward; and though he may have only the contempt of the brave, he will ever be liable to the conſtant inſult of the bravado!

—Juſt the ſame with a nation—for a nation like an individual is ſecured from attack, not by the lenity or forbearance of the ſurrounding circle; but by its own ſpirit. Britiſh praiſe of France for ſuch a vile purpoſe is not magnanimity but meanneſs; and though the policy of that country would draw good effects from ſuch ſentiments, even their politeneſs could not hinder them from deſpiſing the paſſion by which they were dictated. A ſenſible Briton would do nobler juſtice to the French.—Penetrated with their conſequence, he would reſpect

their

their virtue—but while he revered their merit he muſt regret their power. A Frenchman in private life would have his eſteem and love; but the French nation he would perſecute in every quarter of the globe! Any benefit France gained, though it were in Lapland, he would deem an evil to Great Britain; and any direption of ſtrength or influence from that nation, as ſo much acquiſition to his own!

If Great Britain can afford commercial advantages to her neighbours, France is perhaps the only country that ſhould not ſhare them;—but this treaty manacles us in every exertion; for not a favor can we yield to any other power in Europe without imparting a ſimilar indulgence to France. The ſad politics of this nation of late years, have indeed ſundered us from our natural connections —but we were never completely inſulated;—the utter impoſſibility of reuniting with our antient and uſeful confederacies was never perfected, until this treaty did it!!

This is in truth the moſt important point of all —for if the treaty inſtead of being deſtructive in moſt relations, were poſitively faultleſs in all, the effect it muſt have upon foreign powers, forms ſo invincible an argument againſt it, that nothing ſhort of downright inſanity can impel this kingdom to its adoption!!

(THE AUTHOR INTENDED to have gone pretty fully into this momentous conſideration—it would

would indeed have been the part of the whole ſubject moſt agreeable in the writing, and perhaps leaſt unpleaſant in the reading; but the bulk to which this pamphlet is already grown, renders that plan impracticable: and it would be a fraud upon the ſubject to cripple into the concluſion of a publication of this ſize, *that* which deſerves a ſeparate volume. For the preſent therefore he poſtpones, but does not relinquiſh that deſign—not deſpairing, that before the diſcuſſion of this buſineſs ſhall have ceaſed, he may be able to eſtabliſh at large, what he but ſhortly aſſerts in this place—that the probable operation of this treaty upon foreign powers, conſtitutes a ſeries of convictions of its monſtrous impolicy, which ſurpaſs in their magnitude all other objections to it, however important and numberleſs thoſe may be.) ! !

Concluſion.

HERE let us pauſe a moment!—
—What is the exigency that compels us to this extraordinary ſcheme?

A declining trade, a debility in manufacture, commercial ſtagnation, national neceſſity, all theſe, or any of them, are good motives to enterprize, nay even to novelty.—Is this country oppreſſed with any of theſe calamities?—

The courſe of exchange upon the long run is the beſt criterion of commerce. It aſcertains the trade of every nation with more exactneſs than any other medium which is known to men of buſineſs. Now this unerring barometer bears infallible witneſs of our commercial proſperity, for in fact, all the exchanges of Europe are in our favor.—Is then this formidable condition of our trade a proper ſubject for experiment—is this the right time for venduring upon a project that ſubverts all the receive maxims of this wiſe and wealthy nation, that forces the current of our commerce from its antient happy channels, that extirpates whole bodies of men and their manufactures, that deliberately convulſes the whole trading ſyſtem of the Empire, and throws us into the arms of a power whom the concurring expe-

experience of a thouſand years, ſtamps as our natural and eternal enemy ! !

—Who is the ſober man—which even of thoſe who may gain by its eſtabliſhment that conſiders theſe facts, and can look at this deſperate treaty without trembling ?

Among them there are men of ſuperior ſenſe and worth. To their cool ſentence the fate of this treaty might ſurely be ſubmitted, thus addreſſing their whole body in the perſon of an individual, and ſaying, ſuppoſe to Mr. Wedgwood, in place of all the reſt.

—" You have brought a great manufacture to " popularity and ſplendor ! by force of ingenuity " and dint of labour ; Your work gives employ- " ment to the idle, food to the hungry, and cloth- " ing to the naked. It has gained you the general " approbation of your country, and raiſed you a " fortune which places your family above the " reach of want. A meaſure is propoſed by " which that fortune may be encreaſed, in an en- " creaſed ſale of your particular manufacture ; but " which meaſure not only hazards the tranſition of " the art you excel in to a foreign nation, and its " ultimate downfal in your own : but involved " the common fate of all your fellow citizens !— " By that noble love for our country which is in- " ſeparable from honeſt and liberal ſpirits, I con- " jure you, not to ſully the reputation you have ſo

" honorably acquired, by the vileneſs of viewing
" this ſyſtem, through the narrow medium of your
" own private intereſt only. Your gain may be
" great by its adoption, but the glory will be
" greater of refuſing new, perhaps needleſs riches
" at ſuch a price.—Behold this treaty then with
" the enlargement of an independent mind,
" through its various operations and in all its pro-
" bable effects! Such a contemplation will con-
" vince you of its danger, and do not—becauſe it
" may partially promote your ſeparate advantage,
" lend the ſanction of your aſſent to a meaſure,
" that augurs deſtruction to the general trade and
" navigation of your native land; at a time when
" both the one and the other are flouriſhing and
" proſperous!!"

In candor and fairneſs, the good effect of ſuch an appeal ſhould not be doubted, and language to this purpoſe urged with firmneſs and in fit ſeaſon cannot fail to avert this calamity!

There is not—there never was a parliament that would paſs ſuch a treaty into a law. Trade, being the ſource, the vital eſſence of our *all*, has ever been found a moſt delicate ſubject for court intrigue and miniſterial management. Though Charles II. King of England was *bribed* by the court of France, —though his miniſters and ſeveral members of his parliament were bribed by the court of France—yet with all this variegated profligacy, they could not

prevail

prevail upon the Houſe of Commons of that day, to grant one ſhilling for the public ſervice until the prohibition of the French trade was poſitively yielded to their wiſhes!

The ſtrength of Queen Anne's tory miniſtry, and the means uſed to give them ſtrength, are very well known. Their abilities too ſurpaſſed their adverſaries, though great capacities were exerted againſt them. In writings they left them greatly behind—for with the former were connected ſome of the ableſt men the nation ever produced, while thoſe who oppoſed them were comparatively barbarous—yet with all this union of power and talent, they neither could convince the nation nor the parliament, that the treaty with France, of which Mr. Eden's is a copy, could be otherwiſe than ruinous to the nation—and it was loſt by *nine voices!*

Then, as well as in the reigns of Charles and James the ſecond, whenever the court ſupported the French trade, were all the imputations of party, and faction, and love of place, and hatred to the miniſtry urged and re-echoed, and dreſſed out in all the gloſſes of malignity and impudence, againſt every perſon who oppoſed that trade. Thoſe honourable men who defended the commerce of England, in the firſt of theſe periods, intended nothing leſs than to murder King Charles the ſecond, after the example of his father; King James was meant to be reduced to a cypher, and to be made

made the only ſlave, in his own dominions, by the vile abandoned junto who murmured at the pliant ſurrender, made to his partialities, for Lewis XIV. of the trade of Great Britain!! Theſe invectives were carried ſtill farther in the year thirteen, and were aggravated and diverſified into matters and ſhapes that muſt aſtoniſh the readers, even of this day, converſant as we are with this ſort of cant. This ſort of cant muſt always be expected, and muſt be endured—but all ſuch miſerable calumnies die with the day, and ſink into the contempt of thoſe who propagate them!!

Among the friends of miniſtry there are individuals as independent as any in the nation. Thoſe may recollect and imitate the doctrine of a friend, to the negociators of the treaty of Utrecht—"I "vote againſt the treaty with France, for the ſal- "vation of the miniſters who made it."—Let the ſame ſentiment inſpire the friends of the preſent adminiſtration. A miniſter may exult in the victory of the day, but a bad meaſure inſures his ſpeedy downfal, and damns his fame for ever!—No change of government neceſſarily ſucceeds the rejection of this meaſure; and oppoſition to it I hope will be maintained for nobler purpoſes. Surely there is not a party in the land who would not ſign and ſeal (if the conſtitution permitted the execution of ſo ſtrange an inſtrument) a leaſe of all their offices for life, to the ſervants of the crown; rather than

ſuch

ſuch a deſtructive treaty as the preſent ſhould be received by a law. The preſent parliament *will* be animated by the example of former parliaments.—There are lines in political co-operation, beyond which, confidence cannot, and corruption dare not venture. Honourable men of all ſides muſt unite for this great end, and theſe—combining their efforts and mixing with the known energies of Britiſh people—cannot fail to overturn a ſyſtem, which, in my conſcience I think, muſt if eſtabliſhed by an act of the legiſlature—infallibly work the deſtruction of this empire.!!

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such a defensive treaty as the present should be received by a law. The present parliament will be animated by the example of former parliaments.—There are lines in political co-operation, beyond which, confidence cannot, and corruption dare not venture. Honourable men of all sides must unite for this great end, and thereby—combining their efforts and mixing with the known energies of British people—cannot fail to overturn a system, which, in my conscience I think, must if established by an act of the legislature—infallibly work the destruction of this empire.!!

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